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THE MacIVER AWARD LECTURE*

THE NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS AND DESEGREGATION

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The study of the black bourgeoisie is in a sense the logical outgrowth of the study of the Negro family which I began thirty years ago. At that time it was my conviction that the study of the Negro in the United States had a wider significance than what was regarded then as a social problem and generally referred to as the "Negro problem." Consequently, it occurred to me that the study of the Negro would gain in significance if it were placed in a wider frame of reference and defined in terms of a fundamental sociological problem. It is from this standpoint that I shall undertake to discuss the Negro middle class desegregation.

The problem of desegregation involves much more than racial attitudes or interpersonal relations. Economic and political factors must be taken into account as well as institutions and other aspects of organized social life. It is especially significant

then that on this occasion we are celebrating the seventy-fifth birthday anniversary of Professor MacIver, who while claiming for sociology a special field of interest has insisted upon the relevance of psychological, economic, political and cultural factors in the analysis of social relationships. Although I am restricting myself to the limited role which a new social stratum in the Negro community is playing in desegregation, my discussion will nevertheless be within the context of larger economic and social forces in American life.

From whatever standpoint one may undertake an analysis of the process of desegregation, it is necessary to recognize the existence of a Negro community in the United States with a set of institutions which closely duplicate those in the American community. It is necessary to emphasize this fact because in most discussions of desegregation, there is an implicit assumption that Negroes are merely atomized individuals who have been excluded from full participation in the life of the white society. The recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States concerning the admission of Negroes to white schools has tended to focus attention upon the institutional life of the Negro community. Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasize the organized aspects of Negro life in order to gain a clear insight into the sociological aspects of the problem of desegregation. Since there is a Negro community or, perhaps better, there are Negro communities in the United

* SOCIAL PROBLEMS is happy to publish the first MacIver Lecture, which was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in New York, April 13-14, 1957. The MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society is awarded to the sociologist "who in the opinion of the Selection Committee, has contributed outstandingly to the progress of sociology by his published or unpublished work during the past two years, and is qualified to inform the academic community or the educated public concerning current achievements and work in progress in sociology." The lectureship was awarded in 1956 to E. Franklin Frazier for his book *Bourgeoisie Noire*. SOCIAL PROBLEMS wishes to thank the American Sociological Society for granting permission to publish the Lecture.

States, they have a locus in space. Some attention has been given to the location and character of these communities with reference to the plantation system of agriculture. More detailed studies have been carried on in cities, especially northern cities, where large Negro communities have grown up in response to the demands of northern industry. The ecological studies of Negro communities are important because of the light which they throw on the whole subject of desegregation. If those who are concerned with desegregation in public education in the North had some knowledge of the ecological organization of our cities, they would not be puzzled or confused about segregated schools in northern cities which are generally the result of an ecological process rather than a policy of racial segregation. And if those in southern cities who are honestly concerned with bringing about a transition from segregated to non-segregated schools had some knowledge of the ecological organization of cities, they could meet more effectively the arguments of opponents who claim that desegregation will result in social anarchy and at worst sexual promiscuity.

We are more especially interested in the institutions and association in the Negro community since their relation to the process of desegregation is even less understood. For the purpose of this discussion, an attempt will be made to classify these institutions according to their significance for a sociological analysis of the desegregation process. The first type includes those institutions and associations which serve the cultural needs of the Negro community. The most important of these institutions are the religious institutions. The religious institutions, especially the Baptist and Methodist, have a history spanning nearly two centuries. They embody more than any other in-

stitution the unique experiences, aspirations, and outlook on life of the Negroes in the United States. Whatever African survivals might have influenced the early history of these institutions, they are the result of the experience of the Negro in the New World and embody the beliefs, patterns of thought, and behavior which the Negro acquired from Europeans. In this same category should be placed mutual aid associations, Negro schools and colleges under the control of Negro church organizations, fraternal organizations, Greek letter societies, and professional societies, although the latter two reveal more definitely the influence of the white community.

In the second category of institutions and associations I would place those organized forms of social life which have their roots both in the Negro community and in the larger American community. This category is represented by the public schools which reveal to varying degrees the extent to which these institutions are rooted partly in the Negro community and partly in the white community. In the South the Negro public schools are controlled by the white community but may embody to some extent the traditions and patterns of behavior of the Negro community. On the other hand, in the North the public schools which are attended mainly by Negro students are part of the wider American community. I would place in this same category those Negro schools and colleges which were established by white philanthropists and missionaries and where the support and ultimate control remain in the white community. One would place in this same category various public recreational institutions which serve primarily the Negro community.

The third category includes those institutions and associations which have their roots entirely in the white

community. These forms of organized social life are concerned principally with the economic activities of Negroes. The segregated Negro labor unions are an outstanding example of this type of association. Although the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is a Negro association, it owes its existence to the Negro's relation to the economic institutions of the American community. The relatively few Negro political organizations would also come within this category. But how shall we classify the Negro economic institutions which are owned by Negroes and cater specifically to the needs of the Negro community? I would answer this question by saying that such institutions present an anomaly and that their anomalous position explains their insignificance in the economic life of Negroes as well as in the American economy.

In the institutions of the first category, middle class Negroes have generally played an important role as leaders. They have provided the ministers in many of the leading churches and the leadership in the fraternal societies. These organizations have been the source of the incomes which enabled many Negroes to maintain middle class standards. However, the middle class leadership has always been under the scrutiny of leaders who rose from the Negro masses. Middle class Negroes have been more at home in the professional associations and in the Greek letter fraternities. Moreover, their leadership in the schools and colleges was generally undisputed. It was in those institutions where the control and support remained in the white community that they have played the difficult role of mediators between the white and Negro communities.

In some of the institutions of the third category such as, for example, segregated public welfare agencies, middle class Negroes have played a

similar role. But only recently have they begun to play a significant role in the labor organizations. Although middle class Negroes have had a longer history in politics, their role has always been one of serving two masters. They have generally attempted to reconcile the interests and demands of the Negro masses with their personal interests and their desire for power which was subject in the final analysis to the white community.

During the past fifty years the Negro community, despite the system of racial segregation, has been slowly breaking up or dissolving, so to speak. The process has been accelerated during the past twenty-five years. This may be seen first in the decline in the size and population of the Black Belt or those counties in the South where Negroes form 50 per cent or more of the total population. During this same period the proportion of Negroes in the population of the South declined from about one in three to close to one in five and the proportion of Negroes living in the South declined from nine-tenths to two-thirds. These changes are significant not only from the standpoint of the distribution of Negroes in the United States but from the standpoint of the change in the nature of the contacts between Negroes and whites. In the South it has meant that about one-half of the Negroes have contacts with whites in cities and in the North it has had even greater significance. As the result of the greater freedom of the North, Negroes are escaping to some extent from the Negro community. They are entering a variety of occupations and associations which are not based in the Negro community and their contacts with whites are more secular and on the basis of individual competence. In recent years the legal attacks upon the residential segregation of Negroes and the integration of Negroes into hous-

ing projects, both public and private, have tended to break up the Negro community in cities.

The emergence of a sizeable Negro middle class during the past two decades has tended to emphasize in some respects the dissolution of the Negro community. This has been characteristic of the Negro middle class in the North rather than in the South since in the South the Negro middle class still has its economic roots in the Negro community. This explains the fact that the black middle class is still relatively small in the South and its income is less than that of the middle class in the North. The significance of the difference between the middle class in the two regions will be revealed as we view briefly the origin, economic basis, and social heritage of the middle class way of life among Negroes.

The economic roots of the Negro middle class go back to the efforts of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War to acquire wealth. These efforts consisted mainly of their success in acquiring land or real estate and of the small businesses established by independent artisans. For example, at the opening of the Civil War, the real estate holdings of the free Negroes in the District of Columbia amounted to \$630,000 and in Baltimore to about half a million dollars. Among the free Negroes in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, there were listed 371 free persons of color, including 13 Indians, who paid taxes on real estate valued at about a million dollars and 389 slaves. It has been estimated that the free Negroes accumulated \$50,000,000 in real and personal property before the Civil War. The savings and business undertakings of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War reflected the "old-style" bourgeois spirit which was current among white American artisans.

The spirit of modern business en-

terprise did not take root among Negroes until after Emancipation. The development of the spirit of modern business was due primarily to the establishment of the Freedmen's Savings Bank. This institution was set up by an Act of Congress in order to encourage thrift on the part of the newly emancipated Negroes. The headquarters of the Bank was in the national capital and there were thirty-four branches in various cities—thirty-two being in the South. Although the Freedmen's Savings Bank failed for reasons which we cannot go into here, the spirit of modern business enterprise caught fire among Negro leaders. As evidence of this one might cite the fact that between 1888 and 1934, Negroes organized 134 banks. These banks were short-lived since by 1905 only seven of all the banks organized by Negroes were still in existence.

It was during this period that the social myth grew up among Negroes that business enterprise would provide the solution of the Negro's economic and social problems. The Negro had experienced a brief period of high hopes during the Reconstruction Period that he would have the rights of other American citizens. But this was succeeded by a period when not only "white supremacy" was restored in the South but as the result of the unresolved class conflict within the white community, the Negro was disfranchised and lost his right to the same education as the whites, and was subjected to a legalized system of racial segregation. He then accepted the myth of economic and social salvation through Negro business which was preached by Negro leaders all over the South. The myth became institutionalized when Booker T. Washington organized the National Negro Business League in 1900. From then on the myth was propagated through the Negro press, from the pulpits of Negro churches,

and through pilgrimages throughout the South and to a lesser extent in the North.

There is another phase of the social heritage of middle class Negroes that was of equal importance in shaping their early outlook. This was the education which they received in the schools established by northern white missionaries. These missionaries followed in the wake of the advancing Union armies and founded schools all over the South. Living in close association with their Negro charges and guiding their behavior twenty-four hours a day, the missionaries were able to mold the mind of the Negro in the image of the Puritan heritage. The Negro students were reared in an atmosphere of piety, thrift, and respectability. These three virtues were to distinguish them from the great masses of Negroes who practiced a highly emotional religion, who were reputed to be thriftless, and whose general behavior was anything but respectable. To these schools came the children of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War, among whom there was a large percentage of mulattoes. The teachings of the missionaries only tended to reinforce the tradition of respectability and gentlemanly behavior which existed among the descendants of these free Negroes. Those who had a background of unconventional sex behavior, especially the mulattoes, could overcome the fact that they had been conceived in sin by living a pious life. Booker T. Washington, who was the product of missionary education, carried the tradition of piety, thrift, and respectability to Tuskegee Institute. The National Negro Business League represented in a way an attempt to bring the gospel of piety, thrift, and respectability to the entire Negro race.

At one time the city of Durham, North Carolina, with its successful banks and insurance companies and

respectable middle class, was regarded as a sort of capital of the old Negro middle class. As the result of the changes in the economic organization of American life as well as of the changes in the Negro community, the capital of the black middle class has shifted to Chicago or Detroit. This shift has been indicative of the emergence of the new Negro middle class which no longer cherishes the values and social distinctions of the old middle class. The old middle class which placed considerable value upon family stability, mulatto ancestry, and thrift constituted a sort of caste in the Negro community. As a privileged caste the old middle class enjoyed a rather secure position behind the walls of segregation.

The emergence of the new Negro middle class has been due to the migration of Negroes to northern cities where, as the result of the expansion of the American economy, the occupational differentiation of the Negro population has been accelerated. A glance at the federal census of occupations will reveal that in the North Negroes are found in practically all of the occupations whereas in the South they are still excluded from most of the white collar occupations—managerial, salaried professional, sales people, and office workers. Even where Negroes appear in these middle class occupations in the South, they are working within the segregated Negro community. Consequently, according to the best estimates, in the South middle class Negroes constitute an eighth of the employed Negro population whereas in the North they constitute about a fourth.

Significant differences between the Negro middle class in the North and the same class in the South appear in regard to their incomes. Contrary to the social myth concerning the great significance of Negro business in the South, Negro business enter-

prises in the North represent a larger investment of capital, larger business operations, and larger incomes for Negroes. Of more importance are the differences in incomes derived from salaries and wages. In the South the incomes of middle class Negroes begin at about \$2,000 a year and the majority of them do not have annual incomes amounting to \$3,000. On the other hand, in the North the annual incomes of middle class Negroes begin at about \$2,500 and about a half of them have incomes between \$3,000 and \$4,000. Moreover, whereas in the South less than one per cent of the Negroes have incomes of \$4,000 or more, in the North and West slightly more than two per cent have annual incomes of \$4,000 or more and one employed Negro in every hundred has an income of \$5,000 or more. Thus the Negro middle class is comprised almost entirely of white collar workers. The so-called wealthy Negroes and black millionaires about whom one reads in the Negro press derive their incomes from the entertainment world, undertaking, and from the "numbers" rackets and other forms of illegal activities. There are no Negro captains of industry or managers of large corporations.

Nevertheless, the values of the new Negro middle class and the style of life which it attempts to maintain give the impression that it has an economic base different from what it has in reality. This can be explained partly by some of the social traditions of this class and partly by the social origins of Negroes who have suddenly acquired incomes in recent years which allow them to lead a style of life different from that of the masses. The descendants of the old middle class continue to think of themselves as aristocrats whose status is determined by certain standards of behavior as well as of consumption. Those members of the new middle

class who have been able as the result of education and larger employment opportunities to rise to middle class status have intermarried into the old middle class. Since the new middle class are not the true heirs of the old middle class with its solid virtues which had some real meaning among a privileged caste behind the walls of segregation, they seek to confirm their new status by conspicuous consumption. They may scoff at the virtues and values of the old middle class because of their own feeling of inferiority. They may dismiss family traditions and general refinement as of little value or they may pretend that they place no value on a light complexion. Nevertheless, they pretend to have a certain "culture" which they do not possess and they still place a high value on a light complexion, especially in women.

The change in the character of the schools and colleges in which the middle class has been educated explains the confused outlook of the new middle class. The Negro schools, which had once placed great value upon the making of men or the development of a cultivated civilized person, have turned their attention to the making of money makers. The social myth of "Negro business" as the means of economic and social salvation is cultivated as a crude philosophy of life. The white missionaries who were the representatives of piety, thrift, and respectability have been long dead and their places were filled by middle class Negroes who have given a new content to piety, thrift, and respectability. The new content is partly of a negative type and it involves the rejection of everything represented by the Negro folk. The Negro literary and artistic renaissance which turned to the Negro folk for inspiration was rejected by the emerging new middle class and it is completely forgotten today. Nevertheless, the new middle class can-

not escape from its folk background and this background mixed with some elements of genteel tradition explains the fact that the middle class Negro is often a strange mixture of a gentleman and a peasant.

With this background of the new Negro middle class and its place in the Negro community, we are prepared to discuss in some detail its role in desegregation.

We shall begin by considering the role of the Negro middle class in desegregation from the standpoint of the organization of the Negro community. First, there is no likelihood that the institutions and associations which are rooted in the Negro community and serve its cultural needs will disappear in the foreseeable future as the result of desegregation. The Methodist and Baptist church organization with nearly two centuries of continuous history and the fraternal organizations and some social clubs which embody the historical traditions of the Negro community will not be liquidated because of desegregation. Consequently, middle class Negroes who are identified with these organizations and derive their incomes from them will not work for their dissolution.

In this connection, it should be noted that many middle class Negroes have acquired vested interests in segregation. These vested interests are of both a material and a non-material nature. The material nature of these vested interests is most clearly revealed in the Negro business enterprises. The owners of these business enterprises have always tried to convince the Negro masses that it is in the latter's interest to pay higher prices even for inferior goods and services when they are provided by Negroes. The material advantages which middle class Negroes have derived from segregation include also salaries and incomes which are received from segregated institutions.

Then there are certain vested interests of a non-material nature which are provided by segregated institutions. Middle class Negroes have been able to enjoy a certain prestige and status behind the wall of segregation which would be threatened by desegregation. Moreover, middle class Negroes enjoy a certain emotional security by not being forced into competition with whites in the American community. Often this means that they may occupy positions for which they are unqualified and that they can excuse their inefficiency on the grounds that the Negro is, to use their words, "a young race" or "is only a few decades out of slavery."

Middle class Negroes do not have the same vested interests in the second category of institutions which I have mentioned, namely those which have their roots in the white community as well as in the Negro community. The system of racial segregation may provide them with good incomes from public schools and recreational facilities but middle class Negroes are willing nevertheless to compete with whites in unsegregated public institutions. This is especially true in the North. It is not as true of middle class Negroes in border States and it is less true of the same class in the South. As the Negro carries on the struggle for equality, middle class Negroes who derive their support from publicly supported institutions are showing a greater disposition even in the South and border States to accept the consequences of desegregation. This was demonstrated when the presidents of Negro land grant colleges took a stand against the continuance of segregated colleges even if it threatened their own economic security.

Middle class Negroes have been most inclined to wipe out segregation in those institutions which are based in the white community and

in those associations which owe their existence to the economic activities of the Negroes in the general American community. An outstanding exception is to be found in the case of the National Negro Business League which represents, as I have said, an unrealistic attempt to foster a separate economy. But even in the case of this organization there has been an attempt to remove the designation, Negro, from its name because the younger and more prosperous members of the League are employed as salesmen by large white corporations. Some of the older Negro business men who cling to the myth of Negro business and have a vested interest in the myth are sounding warnings against the disastrous effects of too rapid desegregation.

As the walls of segregation are broken down, middle class Negroes bring to the new world certain attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior which they have acquired in the segregated Negro world. Some of these attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior are liabilities but others can be regarded as assets. Let us begin with the assets. There can be no gainsaying that middle class Negroes conform more nearly to the American standards of behavior than any other element in the Negro population. Because of their incomes they are able to maintain a physical appearance similar to that of the general American population. Moreover, I think it can be said that they accept the dominant values of white America. In fact, in the experiments to establish racially mixed housing projects an attempt is made to secure Negroes of the middle income group who have a stable family life and conform to generally accepted standards of behavior.

Although middle class Negroes have always taken a lead in the struggle of Negroes for equality in American life, they have always respected

and supported the basic American values. The old middle class that drew upon the heritage of the Negroes who were free before the Civil War cherished many of the conservative values of the white southern aristocracy and sought to gain their ends through respectable means. When the urbanization of the Negro population stirred new currents of thought among Negroes, they shunned the communists and showed only contempt for the masses who followed Marcus Garvey. Although the militant leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. should be distinguished from the compromising leadership of the National Urban League, both have supported American values and have insisted upon the use of legal and respectable means to secure civil rights or job opportunities. The N.A.A.C.P. has constantly resisted the pressure to make the organization a mass organization. Needless to say, since the National Urban League is a welfare organization which receives its support from white philanthropy, there has been no such pressure. However the N.A.A.C.P. is faced today with the rise of the masses of Negroes under leaders like Reverend Martin Luther King, who has introduced unconventional tactics in the struggle for Negro rights. Although the N.A.A.C.P. is willing to join King and his followers who are carrying their protest to Washington, the Association insists that it be a respectable pilgrimage and not a march on Washington.

This indicates a cleavage in the Negro community that cannot be ignored. Although middle class Negroes have been the leaders in the Negro's struggle for equality, they have always had an ambivalent attitude towards the Negro masses. Even in the days when the Negro "Talented Tenth" went forth from the colleges under missionary control to lead the masses, the middle class could not

identify itself completely with the great masses of poor illiterate black peasants. They were too self-conscious of their achievements and of the burden of proving to whites that they were as intelligent, thrifty, and respectable as whites. The new Negro middle class that has none of the spirit of service and little of the social heritage of the old middle class attempts to dissociate itself as much as possible from identification with the Negro masses. The respectability which its members seek is generally the kind which enables them to maintain standards of consumption out of the reach of the masses. The lip service which they give to solidarity with the masses very often disguises their exploitation of the masses.

Nevertheless, middle class Negroes cannot escape altogether the discrimination and contempt to which Negroes are generally subjected. At the present time they have often become the targets of violence in the South. In the past they were able to escape some of the harsher forms of prejudice in the South because they enjoyed some degree of economic independence and were not in direct competition with whites. But they have suffered in a more intimate way a hurt to their self-esteem. This is because it is this class in the Negro community which has striven most to conform to the standards of behavior of the white community and yet they are rejected by whites. The masses of Negroes, though exposed more to physical violence, can find a refuge in their churches and in associations that represent a way of life from which whites are excluded. The new Negro middle class is more exposed than the old middle class. Their rejection of the masses and their conspicuous consumption cannot insulate them against their inferior status in American society. As a consequence middle class Negroes have a feeling of inferiority despite their de-

mands for equality and as they participate in American society they cannot escape feelings of insecurity and frustration. Many teachers and other professional people have admitted that despite their competence they feel insecure when faced with competition in the white world.

It is not surprising then that when middle class Negroes face desegregation they retain handicaps of their sheltered and privileged life behind the walls of segregation. Because of their ambivalent attitude in regard to identification with the Negro masses, they are confused about maintaining the racial identification of a number of organizations. The National Council of Negro Women decided to drop the term Negro but reversed its decision. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church with eighty-six years of history decided to change the "Colored" to "Christian." But, when it was suggested that the African Methodist Episcopal Church with 170 years of continuous history change "African" to "American," there was such an uproar that the suggestion was dropped. While objection to the identification of Negroes where their behavior might reflect upon the "race," middle class Negroes still insist upon the identification where the slightest recognition might be gained.

The segregation of the Negro in American society has tended to engender a spirit of irresponsibility among middle class Negroes. Middle class Negroes have played, so to speak, at the running of their schools, their hospitals, their businesses, their churches and other organizations. This was natural since they were not held responsible for their inefficiency and failures and liberal whites were especially indulgent because they did not want to appear prejudiced. The lack of responsibility and seriousness has coincided with the refusal of the white man to take the Negro seriously except where his behavior affected

the white community. As middle class Negroes are being integrated into the institutions of the white community, they are forced to assume a more serious and a more responsible attitude towards life. For, while white people may not take seriously the inefficiency of an ignorant head of a segregated institution, and may even pretend that he is a great man, they would not tolerate such behavior on the part of a Negro federal judge.

Shut up within a world where serious matters are not taken seriously, middle class Negroes carry on a serious struggle for status and recognition. This seems to provide some compensations for the lack of status and recognition in the white world. This struggle for status is constantly reflected in Negro newspapers which provide exaggerated reports on the achievements of Negroes and the least recognition which they receive in the white world. The Negro press also reveals the great emphasis which is placed upon "social" life among the middle classes. In its reports upon the activities of Negro "society," one may get a glimpse of the struggle for status in the world of make-believe in which middle class Negroes live. In the world of make-believe middle class Negroes engage in all sorts of conspicuous consumption which set them apart from the Negro masses. It is not unusual to read of Negro Greek letter societies spending more than two million dollars during the Christmas holidays or of parties where fountains flow with champagne and women dripping in diamonds and wearing mink coats arrive in "chauffeured" Cadillacs. The world of make-believe which the Negro press helps to create seems to cushion the effects of the world of reality. In the world of reality Negro business men have no real wealth and Negro professional men and women are only white collar workers. When they assert their

superiority over so-called poor white people who are often better paid professional workers, they are merely attempting to compensate for their rejection by the white world.

There is another phase of the role which the middle class plays behind the walls of segregation that deserves attention when one considers desegregation. Because of the middle class Negro's position in the social structure, he has acquired an authoritarian attitude which is not so readily revealed to whites. As a matter of fact he must generally conceal this aspect of his personality because of his subordinate role in relations with whites. But as heads of schools and churches and lodges, the middle class Negro is generally an autocrat. In the Negro schools and colleges his autocratic power is backed up by the white community. White professors in Negro institutions have been startled by the autocratic attitude of Negro college presidents. As desegregation has taken place in some public school systems, Negro teachers have been shocked to learn that their opinions would be respected and they would have to act in a responsible manner to which they were not accustomed. Moreover they have been surprised that they could not act in the same authoritarian manner in regard to the students as in the segregated schools. The differences in style of life and in values, rather than race, are often the main barriers between middle class Negroes and whites. For example, because of their position in the Negro community, the Negro teachers are likely to be members of "society" which means that they engage in a form of conspicuous consumption that is unknown to white teachers. It also means that they do not read, or attend the theatre, or travel. Some white teachers and other white professionals and white collar workers have been puzzled that their

colored colleagues lived in \$50,000 homes, wore mink coats, drove Cadillac cars, gambled for high stakes, and gave debutante balls for their daughters in expensive desegregated hotels.

It should be noted, however, that the differences in the style of life and in values are greatest in those areas where the walls of segregation are highest or, shall I say, thickest. In the large cities of the North where Negroes of middle class status have increasingly been integrated into the institutions of the community, they are more likely to think of themselves as middle class and white collar workers rather than as an upper class in the segregated Negro community. Consequently, their pattern of living and their values are likely to be the same as those of middle class whites. This may seem to contradict what I have said about the capital of the Negro middle class being in Chicago or Detroit. But it only indicates that middle class Negroes are not assimilated into the wider community even in the North and that in their more intimate association they are still identified with the institutions of the Negro community.

Nevertheless, middle class Negroes are becoming detached from the Negro community. They are increasingly finding acceptance on the basis of their competence and skills and they are becoming a part of the associations which are coming into existence as the result of the changes in the economic organization of American life. They may not feel completely accepted and may think of themselves as one Negro professional told me: he was only an ambassador to the white middle class from the Negro community. This causes, of course, inner conflicts and arouses feelings of hostility towards whites. When inner conflicts, frus-

trations, and hostilities of the middle class Negro are viewed from the standpoint of what has occurred generally in the so-called American melting pot that has created and is creating an American nation, they do not appear as a unique experience. The Negro's physical visibility may prolong the painful experience of assimilation since, despite the emergence of African nations, it does not appear that Negro ancestry will cease to be a taint in the near future.

In concluding this discussion of the role of the Negro middle class in desegregation, it is possible to note certain important facts of sociological significance. The first is that the emergence of the Negro middle class has been inseparable from changes in the economic and social organization of American society. The second fact is that the economic role of the Negro middle class in the American economy has been restricted by the social heritage of the Negro and his racial identification. Third, the Negro middle class has been restricted to the role of an upper class within the segregated Negro community. Fourth, as the barriers to general participation in American life have been breaking down, middle class Negroes are gaining an opportunity to sell their professional knowledge and skills on the same basis as whites. Fifth, this is resulting in an escape from the segregated Negro community where they have lived in a world of unreality into the world of reality where they can play a more responsible role as salaried professional and white collar workers. Sixth, the Negro community will only "wither away" slowly and will not only form a refuge for the Negro masses but for those middle class Negroes who continue to be identified with Negro institutions within the Negro community.

RACE RELATIONS AND LABOR SUPPLY IN GREAT BRITAIN*

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The future of the British people has become intimately involved with the question of the skin color of the Wolverhampton bus conductor or the Aylesbury typographer. Perhaps 100,000 of Kipling's "lesser breeds without the law" now live in Great Britain. They have come from the "under-developed" areas of an Empire which is in the process of democratizing itself into the British Commonwealth of Nations. A decade ago there were about 500 million dependent peoples in the Empire. Today there are some 65 million, and the majority of them—in Africa and in the West Indies—seem to be well along the road to independence and commonwealth status.

Great Britain called upon her colonies and territories to help resolve manpower shortages during World War II, and they heeded her call. Shortages continued after the war and the wartime recruits acted as a pump-primer. More and more vacant posts in industries and services have been filled by Negroes in the past few years. The British are far from unanimous, however, as to whether the cure is better than the disease. The

object of this paper is to examine some aspects of both social structure and attitudes in Britain as they affect the utilization of this new source of labor supply.

Great Britain never passed through a slavery-civil war-reconstruction period such as that which has so highly structured race relations in the Southern United States. The writer took as one tentative hypothesis, in preparing for a study in Britain, a statement by E. Franklin Frazier, in his 1948 presidential address to the American Sociological Society. He spoke of situations in which the Negro-white relationship evolving out of the slave status "has been broken or there is no traditional basis for race relations where, for example, white neighbors are descendants of the non-slaveholding class, then race relations will depend upon various types of personal relationships which may develop between individuals." (9)

There had been no widespread use of slaves; there had been few Negroes in Britain in past years, so there was no indication of a "traditional basis for race relations." Was modern Britain then to be compared with Locke's *tabula rasa* so far as race relations are concerned? And even if it were, might not other factors besides slaveholding account for more or less the same results?

Prejudice and discrimination were being reported widely. A prominent West Indian cricket player was denied accommodations at a leading hotel; newspapers played up strikes against the introduction of Negro bus con-

*Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held on September 6-9, 1956 at Detroit. Puerto Rico lent the author's services to the Government of Jamaica during the summer of 1955 to make a survey of the situation of British West Indian migrants in Great Britain. The Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College of the West Indies, which administered the project, chose Mr. Douglas Manley, lecturer in education at the College, as his associate.

ductors in several cities. Parliamentary debaters used such phrases as "pouring in" when speaking of a migration of 10,000 in one recent year into a total population of 50,000,000. Mail to Members of Parliament reflected a highly articulate, if not necessarily widespread, demand for a quota system, or complete prohibition of colored immigration. Sir Oswald Mosley's minuscule British Union of Fascists painted slum walls with the slogan "Keep Britain White."

The economic and demographic situation made imperative a continued flow of workers from the colonial hinterland to the metropolis. The United Kingdom has been "exporting" sizeable contingents of its population. The net outflow amounted to about 20,000,000 persons in the century ending in 1931; the depression reversed the flow, the Hitler persecutions and World War II increased in-migration, but peace brought a return to fairly high levels of out-migration, in spite of full employment at home. (28)

Britain itself subsidized out-migration under the Empire Settlement Act. Australia and New Zealand assisted the immigrants directly; Canada, indirectly; Rhodesia and South Africa offered land settlement opportunities. There are those who insist that at least 10,000,000 more persons should emigrate in order to give Britain a chance to stabilize its economy. (33)

Discussion of this question is not within the scope of this paper. Out-migration has great relevance to the current situation, however. It drains off large numbers of persons in the productive age groups; it takes proportionately more professionals, managerial, skilled and semi-skilled persons than there are in the labor force; it often increases the dependency

ratio, and it usually unbalances the sex ratio. (11)

Unfavorable effects of the out-migration on the expanding war and post-war economy were strengthened by the long-time decline in the British rate of natural increase. A declining rate of growth in the labor force resulted from both influences. One result of these trends has been that in only two of the past ten years, 1947 and 1952, has the number of unfilled vacancies registered at Labour Exchanges at mid-year failed to exceed the number of unemployed. The annual rates for the past six years are: (31)

1951	2.0
1952	0.7
1953	0.8
1954	1.1
1955	1.6
1956	1.8

June, 1956 data showed, for example, a total of 222,577 unemployed and 397,000 vacancies, or a total deficit of 174,423 persons. Overtime had been increased until the average workweek was close to 47 hours compared with 40 hours in this country. (7)

There has been some rise in productivity, but it would seem that it has been achieved largely by labor mobility, by shifts from industries where value of output is low to those where it is higher. This leaves the lower-paid and the "dead-end" jobs to be filled by the newcomers.

Such jobs represent, however, greater economic opportunities than are afforded by the colonial areas. Unemployment in the latter is likely to run to at least 15 per cent of the labor force, in sharp contrast with the lower than 1 per cent in the United Kingdom in recent years. Per capita income provides another index to comparative economic possibilities; in 1950 Jamaica, for example,

showed an income of \$170.40 to \$646.80 for the United Kingdom.* Thus, economically, both Britain and the colonies gain by the migration. If the classical economic view of labor supply and demand ruled, it would be necessary only to deal with details of a process which would proceed until an "equilibrium" was achieved between employment in the metropolis and employment in the areas with colonial and semi-colonial economies. That the *unemployed* sector of the labor force of the "underdeveloped" components of the British Commonwealth in 1955 outnumbered the *total* labor force of the United Kingdom by at least 5,000,000 (25 million to 20 million) indicates that this *reductio ad absurdum* is decidedly unrealistic.

Eventually, there will have to be enough investment, largely from outside, to enable these economies to support their own people. Immediately, Britain was faced with the necessity, if conditions of full employment continued, of trying to achieve some measure of adjustment for around 20 to 30,000 non-white workers annually for some years to come. The in-migration of West Indians, the largest group now moving to Great Britain, never exceeded 1,000 a year before 1951, when it barely passed that number; it was about 2,000 in 1952 and 1953, reached 10,000 in 1954, was 24,473 in 1955 and 26,441 in 1956.

Successful integration, or at least adjustment, between the white majority and the small but growing non-white minority, would seem to be a *sine qua non* for a continued flow of the workers so widely needed.**

*Calculated from data in the United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook* (1954).

**"Adjustment" is used here in the sense in which it was defined in *Puerto Rican Journey*: "inconspicuous functioning with psychic contentment." (16)

Otherwise, either the reverse-flow will exceed the in-flow or those who come may be looked upon, because of "conspicuous malfunctioning," as costing the economy more than they contribute. Since adjustment must involve some changes in the host society itself, and since most stable societies contain built-in resistances to change, we must try to assess the factors which aid or impede successful adjustment.

NEGATIVE FACTORS

Competition for scarce commodities or services is unquestionably the greatest single factor interfering with adjustment. The fields in which it is most widely expressed in Great Britain today are employment, housing, and female companionship.

Employment opportunities, *as such*, have been plentiful since the war and the colored newcomer has had little difficulty finding work. Two major categories of problems intervene between the job the migrant usually expects and the one he usually gets:

First, structural differences between the "underdeveloped" economy and that of the cradle of the Industrial Revolution reflect themselves in a number of disadvantages which militate against the migrant. It is exceedingly difficult to transfer, at the same level, from the one economy to the other, the product of either general education, specific vocational training, apprenticeship or industrial experience; the word "skill" does not mean the same thing in the two economies. There are also important differences in work habits, motivations, etc. involved in moving from one culture to another. (17)

Second, although full employment has made the presence of the newcomer necessary from the standpoint

of the economy as a whole and from that of the employer, the worker in the shop often has a more restricted outlook. His own previous experience as a member of the "army of the unemployed" may well have been traumatic; the fear of "redundancy" is extremely widespread in Britain today. He may insist that if unemployment comes, the migrant be the first to be discharged.

After World War I, during which colored seamen had been used on British merchant ships and on the docks, there were many street fights and several serious riots wherever sizeable numbers of the "foreigners" (including West Indians, West Africans, Muslims from Asia, East Indians, and Chinese) were found. Liverpool, Cardiff, Newport, South Shields, Glasgow, Stepney and Canning Town were among the areas affected. Cardiff in 1935 and Liverpool in 1936 witnessed repetitions of outbreaks of physical violence as did Liverpool in 1948. (12)

Loss of jobs is not the only phase of work in which competition is feared. There are still industries in which working conditions leave much to be desired. Workers in such situations express the belief that the migrant is being used to avoid improvements. Other occupations are so low-paid that workers prize opportunities for overtime. The availability of a new contingent of the labor force is looked upon as decreasing the chances for this source of additional income. (27)

The expression of such fears is by no means new. The language used today is almost identical with that used to oppose Polish workers in mines, mills and on farms, Italian miners, European refugees and displaced persons, and even the use of women in some occupations where they have not yet been accepted by male workers. (18)

The over-all economic picture of the world in which the British worker lives is not one to engender easy optimism; it makes his fears seem far from completely irrational. Not only has he experienced unemployment in the past, but the international position of Britain has deteriorated and she is now more exposed to competition from more vigorous and more productive economies than she was when previous periods of widespread unemployment were experienced. Serious inflation at home and crippled ability to compete in foreign markets make a formidable pair of scissors threatening to cut living and working standards. (21)

There is more than economic competition involved in the employment field, however. Working with a colored shopmate if often interpreted as denoting loss of status. (1, chap. VI.) Britain is highly status-conscious, not only as between the three traditional classes but within the working class. Zweig, quoted with approval by Pear, states that "the social ladder of the working classes consists of innumerable rungs." (20)

Competition for housing also brings resentment and misunderstanding. Shelter is a difficult problem for thousands of British working class families because of war destruction, wartime restrictions on building, postwar lags in private building for low-income families, and sheer inability of public authorities to find either men, materials or money to keep up with the demand. The "blitz" destroyed 100,000 dwelling units in London alone. Neither private nor public construction has supplied enough new units since the war to make up that deficit, plus replacements and new demand. Newcomers to London, whether from other parts of the United Kingdom or from elsewhere in the world, can reasonably expect that even if they are admitted

to the waiting lists for public housing, which becomes increasingly difficult, they must count on a period of at least five years before they have the slightest chance at a public housing unit.

The situation in cities other than London varies in intensity but in all industrial cities, housing is a major problem for the working class, whether local or recent arrivals. Birmingham, for example, reports that it has over 60,000 persons on its waiting list, and under its point system it would be at least five years before a newcomer could hope even to get on the waiting list. Leeds has 27,000 persons on the waiting list and Bristol 18,000.

The author and his colleague were often told that "housing is just as much of a problem for the Irish, the Welsh, or any of the internal migrants as it is for the Jamaican." Obviously these other newcomers also have great difficulty, but there is evidence to indicate that the phrase heard so often does not tell the whole story. Two analyses have been made of the reactions of landlords in London, one in 1938-9 and another 1952-3. It was found that "approximately 70 per cent of the landlords were unwilling to accept coloured students and as far as very dark Africans or West Indians were concerned, the figure was nearer 85 per cent. (6) It is generally more difficult for workers to find acceptance by landlords than it is for students." (24) The Jamaicans widely refer to the higher rents which colored people pay for accommodations similar to those of whites as the "color tax."

Neither job nor housing competition gives rise to the emotional reactions induced by the outsider competing successfully for the companionship of British women. It is a constant and ubiquitous source of fric-

tion. Unions which admit Negroes to other places are much more likely to object when the working force in a certain shop contains women. Fairly widespread acceptance of Negro men on both platonic and more intimate bases by British women is considered, according to the observer, "an almost outrageous phenomenon." (12, p. 115) Neither the acceptance nor the reaction is much different from those experienced when other outsiders have come on the scene in recent years. One of the chief sources of conflict between the miners and the Italians was "woman trouble;" the same was true of the members of the Polish army in exile and of the United States troops, both white and colored.

Demographic facts are important in understanding the situation. The 1951 census showed 25.4 million women and 23.4 million men, a "surplus" of 2 million women. The official estimate for June, 1955 showed this reduced to 1,663,000 by the return home of males from military service. This is still a considerable excess of females for the country as a whole, but the sex ratio is even more unbalanced in the cities, with 111 to 112 females per 100 males, depending on the size of the city. (3)

Generally long distance migration is selective of males and rural-urban selective of females. Thus, the out-migration from Britain has drained off more men than women and more women than men have moved to the cities; there they may meet the surplus of males in the long distance migration from the colonial areas. West Indian males living in the London slum borough of Stepney outnumbered West Indian females by 4 to 1 in 1951; but in the overall population there was a "surplus" of women. (1, pp. 96-97)

Demographic factors alone do not seem sufficient to account for the

numbers of formal and informal unions being formed. Banton, Collins, Little and Richmond have all examined the question. Banton represents more or less the common view when he writes:

Conventional attitudes operate so as to restrain any English woman from consorting with a coloured man, and it is only those who rebel, or those whom the white group rejected and over whom it has lost the power of restraint who will go out with any of the immigrants. (1, p. 150)

Collins does point out, however, that the white wife often helps speed up the integration process. (7)

Our own observation was that there was considerable variation by city, by neighborhood, by occupation, etc.

Although discrimination may be practiced by a person who is himself not prejudiced, the presence of widespread discrimination must be taken as indicative of widespread prejudice. Otherwise, the employer usually would not say that he would hire no members of a given group because his workers wouldn't continue on the job; the hotel or boarding house owner wouldn't use possible loss of trade as an excuse for not renting a room, etc. Evidence indicates fairly widespread prejudice. Richmond reports a survey which showed that approximately one-third of the British adults are tolerant and inclined to accept colored persons as individuals, one-third are mildly prejudiced and one-third are extremely prejudiced. (23)

Banton and Richmond have both written that they believe the survey to have exaggerated the extent of prejudice. Banton is now engaged in a study in which he distinguishes between "prejudice" and "antipathy." He believes that "not more than 2 per cent of the population are prejudiced against colored people."* It is

interesting to note that a study in a London working class neighborhood found 26.2 per cent intensely anti-Semitic on one end of the scale and 17.5 either tolerant or pro-Jewish on the other." (24, pp. 91-93) This study offers one of many indications of the differences in prejudice expressed when members of a "visible" minority group are physically present in an area. The author points out that:

"There seems to be relatively little expression of colour prejudice in Bethnal Green. The coloured population of the borough is minute and coloured visitors even from the neighboring borough of Stepney are rare. On the other hand, Welsh and Irish are comparatively common and fairly visible, and there is a good deal of prejudice expressed against these groups, sometimes even exceeding anti-Semitism in intensity."

What lies in the background of the British people, in the absence of slaveholding, which brings out prejudice against colored people when they appear?

Ethnocentrism, and often xenophobia, are common to all social groups. London history shows hostility, sometimes resulting in riots, against such diverse groups as Flemings (sixteenth century), Huguenots (seventeenth century), Jewish refugees from the Palatinate and Ashkenazi Jews from Germany (seventeenth and eighteenth century), Irish (riots in 1736, 1780, 1808, 1809), etc. (1, chap. II)

Imperialism, added to ethnocentrism, is another ingredient in the spread of attitudes basic to color prejudice. Racist rationalizations were formulated in Britain, as they were later in the United States, to justify, to explain, to ease the consciences of a people theoretically committed to liberty but engaged in building an empire. Kipling popularized the concept of "The White Man's Burden" to guide the relations of the superior race with the "pagan,"

*Personal correspondence from Banton (September 24, 1956) and Richmond (November 22, 1956).

the "heathen," the primitive who was "half devil and half child." (10)

The missionaries who went out from the metropolis to save the souls of the colored people sent back reports, often lurid, of the kind of "pre-civilized" people with whom they had to cope. Little quotes one missionary as regretting the apathy of the English public, "which unless it is stirred up by horrors would not subscribe to missionary funds." (12, p. 213)

Nineteenth century literature began to reflect the new outlook on colored people, who had been treated tolerantly or even in a friendly manner by previous writers. (19) Children's books, to this day, refer to Negroes by expressions which are usually considered offensive by them: e.g., "Golly," "Woggie" and "Nigger" are the three little Negroes in a recently published book. (2)

Undesirable and even sinister associations of the word "black" are pointed out by Little.* They help build up stereotypes which interfere with rational thinking on questions involving colored people.**

Such are some of the elements in the British culture and society which help produce people prejudiced against colored men and women. There are positive factors as well; there are elements in the culture

which militate for better relations; there are institutions, the personnel of which work for better understanding.

"A British Dilemma" would fit the situation in the United Kingdom almost as well as "An America Dilemma" did the United States when Gunnar Myrdal made his classic study. The discrepancy between the British love of liberty, their religious and ethical idealism, and the high value placed on "fair play" on one side and discriminatory treatment of colored fellow-citizens of the Commonwealth on the other is often brought to public attention by writers and speakers.

There is one tremendous difference between the situation in Britain and that in the United States. British discrimination has no legal standing. Neither legal nor other institutions have structured race relations so that transgression of institutional rules requiring discrimination "outlaws" a white man of goodwill. The social situation is fluid; to some extent Frazier's generalization proved to be true of Britain. There are, also, institutions working toward a structuring of the situation *against* prejudice and discrimination. Their roots go back deep into British history. Francis Bacon, William Penn, Josiah Tucker, Jeremy Bentham and James Mill can be counted among the intellectual ancestors of modern British anti-imperialism. (32) They, and their intellectual descendants, have made a noticeable impression on public opinion.

The Anti-slavery movement also has had its influence, which continues today. Trevelyan calls it "the first successful propagandistic agitation of the modern type." (30) Started by the Society of Friends, joined by the Evangelicals, the movement recruited such leaders as William Wilberforce

*E.g., soiled, dirty, foul, malignant, deadly, baneful, iniquitous, etc. are carried in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. "Black-guard," "black-hearted," "blackmail," "blackball," "blackleg," "black magic," "black mass," etc. also suggest themselves.

**The following passage from another recent book is not likely to help eradicate deleterious stereotypes. "The stranger was black as coal, with lollipop eyes which he rolled around in the most remarkable manner, bowing and smiling all the while to anyone who chanced to look his way. . . . the colored gentleman kept mopping his face with a pair of not-very-clean cotton gloves" . . . (39)

and Zachary Macauley. It succeeded in ending the slave trade in 1807 and abolishing slavery in the Empire in 1833, after not quite fifty years of agitation. The Anti-Slavery Society continues its work today and has consultative status with the United Nations.

Churches and other religious organizations are active in helping speed up the adjustment process. For example, the British Council of Churches has issued a brochure, "Your Neighbor from the West Indies," with suggestions for local ministers; the Methodist Church has made a film and published illustrated literature on the inter-racial fellowship found at Methodist International House in London. *The Sunday School Chronicle*, *Christian World*, *English Churchman* and many other organs of religious institutions regularly carry the message that "race prejudice is un-Christian." The YMCA, YWCA, Salvation Army, Church Army and other such groups have programs aimed at aiding the colored newcomer.

A powerful counter-weight to ill-feeling arising out of job competition is found in the labor movement, in its trade union, political, educational and cooperative activities, where official doctrine frowns on discrimination. The author and his colleague interviewed 21 labor officials, national and local, and found in every case a willingness to help and a concern with the harm that race prejudice and discrimination could do "the movement." While several antagonistic resolutions have been presented to Trades Union Congress conferences in the past few years they have been eliminated and a denunciation of the "color bar" adopted.

One of the most frequently expressed sentiments is well stated in the resolution adopted at the annual

conference of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers: "The common enemy of working men is the employer, and rather than seek out each other in dispute may we go forward in a united struggle to improve standards of living."

The delegate who moved the resolution said that, given the same opportunities, the colored people "would be every bit as good as we are." (8)

The Transport and General Workers Union, with over 1,285,000 members (the largest in Britain), unanimously adopted a resolution condemning discrimination. "Let us never again witness the shameful spectacle of trade unionists refusing to work with men because of their color," said the mover of the motion. (13) Officers of the National Union of Miners have had a great deal of difficulty with their rank-and-file, but both district and national conferences reject restrictionist and discriminatory motions.

The T. U. C., as the central federation of some 150 national unions, has long been actively involved in international affairs. It is affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U., which now represents around 54,000,000 trade unionists from 75 countries; it set up a Colonial Advisory Committee in 1937, through which it aids new labor movements in some 30 territories in many ways, financially, politically, educationally, and organizationally. (5)

A recent study of factories in Birmingham hiring as much as 25 per cent colored of their total labor force seems to indicate that the internationalist and equalitarian traditions of the labor movement are expressed during working hours by most union members. The study reports that antagonism:

arising from social, economic and sexual fears is more than counter-balanced

by such factors as the everyday decency of the average worker, the unionists' belief in equal rights, and a feeling among many that the best safeguard against economic competition is to give the colored workers trade union membership. (26)

Actors Equity of Britain has called upon its members not to work in any theatre where "any form of color bar" is in existence. Other unions have adopted resolutions to the same effect.

The experience of the West Indians, reported in a poll of the British Institute of Public Opinion, indicates that relations at work are much better than off-the-job personal contacts. (19) Whereas 50 per cent of the outside relationships were felt to be either "all right" or better, 78 per cent of the workshop contacts were so characterized. There is a four-to-one differential in the "very well, as a friend" category; 10 per cent outside work to 40 per cent at work.

The political arm of the labor movement has international contacts dating back to the days of the Second International. Its daily, weekly and monthly press, both official and unofficial, consistently carries articles against prejudice and discrimination. The extensive system of political and economic education of the labor movement also seems to carry weight among workers. (24, pp. 93-94)

There is a definite movement also inside conservative ranks to combat prejudice and discrimination. A group of young conservatives published a report in 1952 which was marked by real understanding and long-range thinking. (15) While there have been more emotion-loaded resolutions from local groups before Conservative party conferences during the recent past than came from local Labour parties, the resolutions adopted have been conciliatory in tone.

A "multi-racial commonwealth" is the slogan around which an influential group is gathering. Participants in the "movement" include former and present colonial officials and many business and professional men and women who see race relations as the rock on which the British Commonwealth may be split asunder. (15)

Schumpeter used imperialism to demonstrate what he called "the ancient truth that the dead always rule the living." (25) There are many indications that this "ancient truth" may be subject to revision in modern Britain. A corps of outstanding scholars, anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, economists, and demographers, are studying various aspects of life in both the areas of colored out-migration and in the United Kingdom itself and most of them actively advocate programs to improve conditions. There is a tremendous interest in what may be learned from race relations experiences in this country, the Union of South Africa and other multi-racial countries. UNESCO's race relations pamphlets are attracting increasing attention. The number of persons and groups interesting themselves in the improvement of race relations is increasing rapidly. Improvement was found by the Jamaica working party each time community leaders had carried out a program of education and action to break down those local barriers which hinder the adjustment of any newcomer. The successful community relations work of those in charge of the European Volunteer worker program had been used successfully as a pattern in several cities visited. (18)

Economic exploitation is no longer the basis for the British Empire, and democratic political relations are rapidly being worked out with most of the formerly "subject peoples." Many

persons in Britain now feel that their ability to adjust to their new multi-racial circumstances at home, as well as abroad, will be the key to the ability of the Commonwealth to survive. One of their leading students of race relations stresses that it is *their* adjustment that is necessary since "the principal obstacle to assimilation is the attitude of English people towards colored persons." (1, p. 235)

Recent dips in employment are already reflected in a decrease in the migrant flow to Great Britain. (22) If "redundancy" becomes serious, the strain on the British sense of "fair play" may well become serious also.

The freeing of men in the armed services to return to the labor force, announced early in April, 1957, will contribute further to the difficulties of the West Indian finding a job. The British Caribbean Welfare Service, created June 1, 1956, is already warning prospective migrants of problems in Britain. (22) It is also attempting, through the local governments in the West Indies, to orient the migrants before they leave home. These are most helpful moves in speeding the adjustment process for any working class migrant, but to paraphrase H. G. Wells, the Commonwealth's fate lies in the outcome of the "race between education in better human relations and catastrophe." But the chances for education to win depend heavily on the maintenance of "full employment" in Britain.

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OBSESSIVE-COMPULSIVE DISORDERS IN CHINESE CULTURE*

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This paper is a preliminary attempt to review the findings on three cases of obsessive-compulsive disorder in pre-Communist China with a view to raising some theoretical issues of general interest. These cases were studied by means of psychoanalytic methods but from a social-psychiatric point of view.

According to Freud, obsessive symptoms are essentially substitutive infantile sexual activities to which the individual has regressed because of his inability to meet the demands of normal genital functioning after puberty or because of his failure to satisfy his libidinal desires in a normal way later in life. (13, pp. 41-48) The kinds of infantile sexual impulses that are believed to have been repressed during latency but that are now reactivated during or after adolescence are said to be mainly anal-sadistic and auto-erotic or, what is summarily called the pre-genital sexual organization, as contrasted with the repressed early genital impulses that dominate hysterical symptoms. (12)

Freud also observed that obsessive neurotics frequently showed the character traits of compulsive orderliness, parsimony and obstinacy, which are believed to be reaction formations against the infantile pleasures regarding defecation or the results of

sphincter discipline generally stressed during early childhood in Western society. (11, p. 45) Applying this point of view to the study of Chinese character structure, one author observed, and correctly, that Chinese parents, as a rule, do not impose strict toilet training early on the child. "As a result," he added, "the Chinese are as free from compulsiveness about time and performance as they are unobsessive in all the other spheres of life." (17) For example, he referred to the Chinese inexact measures of weight and the lack of fanaticism in regard to absolute truth or abstract principles. Hence, he concluded, psychosomatic disorders, schizophrenia and psychoneuroses, especially those of the obsessive-compulsive variety, must be uncommon among them.

The facts, however, do not support such an optimistic view (5), for while the Chinese might not be compulsive about time, or what the Westerners consider as truth, in the days before the Republic, they were notorious for the minister's fanatic loyalty to his emperor, the son's obsessive filial piety to his parents and the wife's superhuman chastity or loyalty to her husband, dead or alive. These fanaticisms, according to a recognized Chinese psychologist, have been responsible for a great variety of psychopathological phenomena throughout the long Chinese history. (3) Equally compulsive and even more prevalent than these historical trends are the well-known Chinese preoccupation with symmetry, and proverbial passive-aggressiveness or ambivalence toward authority, which one author describes as aspects of the anal

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character. (1) At present, the devotion of Communist China to a new ideology is certainly far from being unobsessive. And yet there is no reason to believe that the Chinese pattern of toilet training has changed drastically in recent decades. In other words, toilet training *per se* may or may not have anything to do with the genesis of compulsive character or obsessive symptoms. (16, 20)

The socio-psychiatric approach views man consistently as a bio-social being. (16) It makes full use of Freud's epochal discoveries of the "unconscious" and "infantile sexuality," but looks upon the latter as essentially a bio-social form of relationship between the child and his elders and as only one aspect of the role the child occupies in the total family constellation. (21) It also takes full cognizance of the forces of culture which, through various social agents, largely define the roles or self-concepts of the individual in his various stages of development. It further emphasizes the importance of the immediate situation and seeks to understand behavior at any given point of time as a function of the total situation, which includes the individual as he conceives of himself and the social and cultural forces as he perceives them. (18) From this approach, I have reviewed the most significant findings on three cases of obsessive-compulsive disorder that were seen at the Psychiatric Clinic of the Peiping Union Medical College Hospital. They will be called Chen, Lin and Lee. For lack of space, however, only one case will be summarized in some detail, while the other two will be referred to only when they may throw some additional light on the problems being discussed. A summary of Case 1 follows.

CASE MATERIAL

General information. Chen was a 21-year-old man from a southeastern

coastal province. He came from a small merchant's family, with 17 people living in one household. He had an elementary school education. He was married at sixteen and had two children when he came for treatment. He was seen in 185 sessions extending over a period of 15 months. His condition was greatly improved when his treatment was interrupted by the Japanese occupation of Peiping.

Situations confronting the patient at onset of illness. The immediate situation calling forth the first obsessive response from Chen was the severe illness of his two-year old half-sister when he was 12 years old. One day as he was tearing a sheet of paper in school and letting the pieces fall on the floor, he was struck with the thought that unless he picked up those pieces of paper from the floor, his half-sister would die. So he did and there began his ever-expanding obsessive-compulsive symptoms.

It must be added that Chen's mother became ill when he was three and died when he was five. After that he became the adopted son of his elder paternal uncle and his wife, in addition to being his own father's son. The only other male child in the household was an older cousin, who was the son of his father's younger brother. Being the only son of two families was, apparently, a very privileged position, for according to the custom of his region at that time, such a man was entitled to have two wives to bear children for the respective families. Besides, he had always been his father's favorite until his father remarried and the beautiful and lively half-sister was born. His symptoms began one day after he was allowed to see this half-sister and

*This was his approximate age according to the Western way of counting. The Chinese infant is one year old before he is twelve months, and becomes one year older with each new calendar year.

noticed her erstwhile lovely face was covered with pock marks.

Symptoms at the onset of illness and their later development. As soon as Chen had obsessive thoughts of a destructive nature about the half-sister who was ill with small pox, they had to be undone compulsively. This was accomplished mainly by thinking of somebody outside the family to take her place. Soon these obsessive-compulsive processes were extended to his older cousin, his father, and his paternal uncles, including his adopted father. His major complaint about these elder men in the family was that they were all authoritarian and often shouted at him when they wanted him to come home from play and sometimes hit him and caused him to be afraid of them. One special kind of resentment was directed toward the uncle who was his adopted father. Chen slept in the same bed, up to the age of nine, with the uncle and aunt and often knew when they were carrying on sexual intercourse. He was frankly jealous and hated his adopted father for possessing his adopted mother. On the other hand, he prided himself on being the most filial son to his elders and the most gentle-hearted person in general. Hence, his destructive thoughts involving them bothered him.

The following is a typical example of the way in which these authoritarian figures appeared in his obsessive-compulsive ruminations. As he was taking a step, he would involuntarily see the image of his father on the ground on which his foot stepped. Immediately he had to withdraw his foot and think of somebody outside the family to take his father's place, and, at the same time, he would shake his head and use his foot to go through the motion of erasing, to indicate the completion of the undoing process. These symptoms might

involve any of the older men in the family and might accompany any move he might make, anywhere he might be. Thus, he might have just finished his toilet functions, but as he was getting up from the usual squatting position, he would involuntarily visualize his father's face among the feces and then he would have to squat and go through the whole undoing process before he could get up again. Since these obsessive-compulsive processes tended to repeat themselves, he would get stuck in one place for hours.

In the patient's obsessive-compulsive symptoms, no single body function or organ can claim monopoly or priority. For our purposes, a brief additional reference to the use of the mouth, perhaps, should be made. If he happened to think of his father when swallowing something, he had to keep swallowing six times in order to overcome his anxiety, for "1" represented his adopted father, "2" his father, "3" his younger paternal uncle, "4" his own son and "5" his half-sister, but "6" sounded like the name of a boy outside the family who had drowned. To swallow him, therefore, was better than to swallow his own relatives.

Symptoms involving the women in the family were of a different variety. They revealed two major impulses: first, to take possession of them directly or indirectly; and second, to be like them. Thus, while going to the open toilet at his hotel, he would think of his half-sister going to the men's toilet, and, at the same time, would feel as though he were his half-sister. Or in talking to the therapist, he would feel that his step-mother was talking to a man outside the family and also that he was his step-mother talking to the man. These thoughts, of course, had to be undone.

It should be added that sometimes

his own son and daughter got involved in his obsessive thoughts too. This was more understandable when the patient revealed that when he had sexual intercourse with his wife, he often felt as if his wife were his adopted mother.

The patient's primary group environment and his primary self-concept. Chen's household at the time of his treatment included his own father, his step-mother and three half-sisters; his elder paternal uncle or adopted father and his wife; his younger paternal uncle, his wife and three children, one of whom was a boy two years his senior; and Chen's own family of four. Two older sisters had been married and lived away from home.

Reference has been made to Chen's special position in the household by being the only son of two families and by having been the favorite child of his father until the latter remarried and had younger children by his second wife.

Chen's relationship with his adopted parents deserves a special mention. His adopted mother had taken complete charge of him ever since his own mother became ill and could no longer breast-feed him when he was three. Then he began to sleep with his adopted parents in the same bed up to the age of nine, after which he continued to sleep in the same room with them for several more years, but on a separate bed. As long as he slept with his adopted parents in the same bed, his adopted mother, as a rule, held his naked body close to hers which was also naked down to the waist. His adopted father slept next to his adopted mother but on the other end of the bed.

Chen recalled without great difficulty his strong sexual interest in his adopted mother, along with resentment against his adopted father.

In fact, his incestuous interests seemed to increase with age instead of undergoing repression during what is known as the "latency period" in psychoanalytic literature.* Thus, he recalled that when he was seven, he woke up one morning and found himself aroused by the smell of the trousers his adopted mother had left in bed. Masturbation followed. Another time, during the same period, it was her belt that stimulated him. When he was nine, he woke up one morning and found one of his hands on her pubic hair. And there were a number of times when he experienced an erection during the night and felt compelled to withdraw from her embrace. In fact, getting up late in the morning and masturbating under the cover with thoughts about his adopted mother was almost a daily habit during that period.

Chen's incestuous impulses during this period were not confined to his adopted mother. He readily recalled his early erotic interest in his step-mother, his younger aunt, girl cousins and half-sister.

As to Chen's strictly auto-erotic, especially anal-erotic, activities during his early childhood, there were very few recollections. Nor did he recall any traumatic experiences associated with toilet training. The only related fact he recalled is that he had enuresis almost up to the time of his marriage. As long as he was sleeping with his adopted mother, all he had to do when he felt the urge to urinate was to touch her, and she would take him to the toilet or give him the urinal. In view of the ease with which Chen talked about his incestuous and patricidal impulses that were strictly forbidden in Chin-

* According to Freud, the latency period is from about the end of the fourth year to about the eleventh year when the first manifestations of puberty appear. (11, p. 47)

ese culture, the relative dearth of recollections about anal erotism or toilet training can be explained only by the widely accepted fact that most Chinese mothers do not attach much importance to such matters. Chen's mother and his adopted mother were probably no exceptions.

Chen's status in the household may be summarized as follows. His father managed the family store and his older cousin was his assistant. It had been his father's hope that someday Chen would be able to take charge of the business, or at least, be an active partner in it. As a result of his illness, however, Chen not only totally escaped from this responsibility, but had the whole household continuously concerned about him. To use his own words, he often felt that he was "the only and the most important one" (*wei i tu chuan*), on whose recovery hung the future happiness of the entire household. He claimed that he felt this way most keenly when his symptoms began. This unique role that he felt he occupied in the household was dramatized in his dreams by having an emperor live in a house like his, and the president of the country playing the kind of ball game he played.

However lofty and important this primary self-concept of Chen's might have been to him, he was quite aware of its disadvantageous aspects. Before his authoritarian and indulging elders, he had become overly submissive and compliant and had never learned to express himself effectively; he either kept silent or stuttered. To outsiders, he appeared to be a weakling and often was bullied or otherwise taken advantage of. Following his marriage at sixteen, which was arranged by his family, he had diarrhea for two years. During the same period, he attended the public elementary school and graduated from it at eighteen. But while most

of his schoolmates either went on for further education or began to work after graduation, he noticed that his symptoms became intensified and he spent most of his time in seeking treatment. In other words, Chen was keenly aware of the discrepancy between what he was and what he would like to be at this stage of his development.

A SOCIO-PSYCHIATRIC INTERPRETATION

The data presented above are amenable to various interpretations. According to the classical psychoanalytic point of view, the prominence of destructive or sadistic impulses in this case would lead one to think that Chen must have regressed to the anal-sadistic stage of psychosexual development owing to some obstacle to his genital functioning. The difficulty here is that we have little information about Chen's anal activities during his infancy or childhood. The chances are that due to the lack of early visceral discipline, no particular attention had been called to the anal area, and therefore, there had been little to be repressed. Nor was there any real obstacle to Chen's normal satisfaction of his libido, especially after his marriage, that would occasion its flowing into what Freud called "collateral channels," that is, the pregenital sexual activities. (13, p. 48) What has been said was true of all the three cases under review, as they were all married without their own effort and their sexual relations with their wives—and in one case with girl friends in addition—had suffered no serious disturbances.

Then there are the complications introduced by the almost equal prominence of genital incestuous and oral aggressive impulses in this case. (2, 7, 8) Even if there were no self-con-

traditions in the usual psychoanalytic account of this case, we would still be dealing with the vicissitudes of the libido in an individual, instead of the problems of the individual as a whole in his relations with society and culture.

From the socio-psychiatric point of view, Chen's neurotic symptoms may be simply thought of as the serious, though ineffective, attempts made by an insufficiently socialized individual to be human or to maintain an acceptable and consistent self-picture in the face of conflicting needs and increasing cultural demands during adolescence. Under such a general frame of reference, each of Chen's major symptoms can be shown to be a function of the total situation at a given point of time, or in a certain period of his development, instead of a mere repetition of infantile sexual activities.

When Chen's obsessive thoughts first appeared, his lively little half-sister was ill with small pox. Since his special position in the family and the indulgence of his elders, especially his adopted mother, tended to engender in him the concept of himself as "the only and the most important one," it would seem natural that he should consider this half-sister as his rival, especially for his father's affections, and that he should secretly wish that she were gone. But by the age of 12, a boy, as a rule, has internalized some of the basic values of his culture; in this case one must take into account the Chinese concept of "brotherliness," which was taught as the only appropriate attitude toward siblings. Chen might have had murderous impulses toward his half-sister before without the sense of guilt, but could not do so at this age; hence, his obsessive thoughts involving his half-sister had to be accompanied by compulsive undoing.

Next came Chen's obsessive

thoughts involving the misfortune of any one of the older men in the family, especially his father, his adopted father, and the cousin who was two years his senior. To the former two, Chen was the youngest and only male child and the most precious, and also the son they expected to be filial and obedient according to the Chinese cultural traditions. To Chen, they were the fathers whose love gave him the special position in the family, but whose authority was not to be challenged. This was the larger socio-cultural field in which the son-father relationship should be seen, quite aside from the narrower angle of sexual rivalry between them which no doubt did, to a certain degree, exist. The older cousin was clearly a formidable rival, for by taking an active part in the management of the family store, he enjoyed the confidence of the elders and thereby forced Chen into the background.

Under such a patriarchal family atmosphere, it is understandable that Chen should experience intense hostile impulses toward these formidable figures, and that he should be unable to express them except in the form of symptoms, especially when, with the increasing rate of socialization during adolescence, the very harboring of these impulses became grossly inconsistent with the newly reinforced ideal of a filial son or nephew and of a brotherly cousin. Hence, the compulsive undoing whenever obsessive thoughts involving these elders appeared. (14, 22)

Against the background of this difficult relationship between Chen and his male elders, his obsessive thoughts involving the older women in the family become understandable. The women were used in the fantasies either as targets for displaced aggression, as main sources of emotional support, or as objects of identification. But none of these impulses was

acceptable to the newly reinforced adolescent concept of a filial son to both parents and a growing man to all the mother figures. Hence, the undoing processes accompanying these obsessive thoughts.

In all those obsessions in which the hostile impulses were prominent we were able to trace them to specific socio-cultural situations in which Chen strove, on the one hand, to preserve his primary role as the "only and the most important" member of the family, and, on the other, to live up to what his culture expected him to be; that is, a filial son and a brotherly brother or cousin, as well as a productive member of the household. (15) It was probably his awareness of his deficiency in the latter capacity that was responsible for the intensification of his symptoms during the period following his graduation from school and prior to his coming for treatment.

The same human need for consistency, creating anxiety and defense mechanisms whenever unacceptable impulses were active, was found in the other two cases, the details of which are not given here because of the limitations of space. Suffice it to say that in the case of Lin, having to study for his final examination in an elementary school was the situational context in which the desire to return to the primary role of being his mother's and father's only beloved son became intense and took the form of incestuous and passive-homosexual fantasies; and in the case of Lee, it was the conflicting desires to be a patriot on the one hand and to cooperate with the enemy on the other, which constituted the core of his obsessive-compulsive symptoms, and the latter took the bio-social form of attempting to establish a passive homosexual relationship with the Japanese conquerors. (4)

In all these obsessive cases, there were no evidences of a precocious ego

development during infancy or early childhood which necessitated the repression of the "component sexual instincts" as is generally assumed, and which could be said to have been responsible for the compromise formations when they were reactivated during adolescence. It was rather the serious lack of ego development or socialization that rendered them incapable of complying with the requirements of culture during or after adolescence and that resulted in half-hearted attempts on their part to be what they thought they should be. On the one hand, they strove to conform to cultural expectations commensurate with their age and sex, but, on the other, they tried to hold on to the primary roles they had acquired earlier in the family.

SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Pending a more detailed analysis of the cases reviewed, the following tentative conclusions regarding obsessive-compulsive disorders in Chinese culture seem justified:

(a) Obsessive-compulsive neurotic symptoms as well as character traits were found in China in spite of the fact that the Chinese mothers, on the whole, do not impose cleanliness training early on their children. Information gathered from the cases reviewed does not give support to the popular notion, derived from classical psychoanalytic theory, that obsessive-compulsive symptoms are invariably related to strict toilet training during infancy or early childhood. It is interesting to note that a Japanese psychiatrist has made similar observations on the basis of studies of Japanese patients. (19)

(b) The ambivalent or hostile impulses found among these obsessive patients did not appear to have any necessary relationship with anal erotism, as is assumed by the classical

psychoanalytic theory of psychosexual development. Furthermore, these hostile impulses were not instinctual in the sense of being unlearned; nor were they primarily a matter of sexual constitution. (10, p. 375) Instead, they were engendered in the course of the child's relations with specific social objects and cultural situations. The most important of these situations seemed to be the patriarchal structure of the Chinese family and the traditional emphasis on filial piety and on respect for elders. This weight of parental authority is felt by the Chinese child in many areas. Being punished for early sexual misdemeanor is not as important a source of unconscious hatred of father as Freud asserts. (10, p. 342-343) Since disobedience or expression of hostility toward one's elders is strictly tabooed, ambivalence toward authority has always been a national character trait.

(c) The sexual or bio-social forms in which the patient's primary selves or roles were expressed cannot be fitted nearly into the classical psychoanalytic stages of psychosexual development. The oral, anal and genital, as well as the auditory, cutaneous and cranial (especially in the case of Lin) body zones were used by these patients at different times and for various purposes much as, to borrow a metaphor from French, the forces on a battlefield are mobilized and dispersed by the general as the situation may require. (9)

(d) It is also interesting to observe that in all three cases, I was unable to detect a marked period of latency in which the pregenital and early genital sexual impulses were subjected to repression and thereby lay dormant. All available evidences point to a continuation of childish sexual interests until early puberty, when the process of socialization generally begins in earnest and the need for consistency becomes paramount.

In fact, in the case of Lin, the information about whom was not gone into in detail here for lack of space, his recurrent incestuous dreams began to reflect censorship only after his treatment had progressed to a certain stage.

(e) Thanks to Freud, the importance of the sexual aspects of neurotic symptoms is generally recognized today. Unfortunately, the meaning of the neurotic's sexual activities in terms of his self-picture and of his relations with fellow humans and with culture is still not sufficiently appreciated. So far as these Chinese cases of obsessive-compulsive disorder are concerned, it would be grossly misleading to think that their symptoms were only, or even principally, substitute infantile sexual activities. On the contrary, in all of these cases, the major issue seemed to be one of maintaining a consistent and acceptable self-picture and of being human according to the dictates of Chinese culture. It was when this all important job of being human at the present was interfered with by earlier, but now unacceptable, need systems and behavior patterns that anxiety arose and defences became necessary.

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SOCIAL FACTORS IN MENTAL DISORDERS IN TEXAS*

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The majority of psychiatric surveys in the United States have been conducted in only two regions, and primarily in urban communities. Only two such studies were on as large a scale as an entire state and both were confined to the same New England region. (4, 11) The smaller studies have been conducted in cities, counties, and health districts within cities (1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15), and nearly all of these have been in only one type of city, the commercial-industrial. Not all studies of mental disorder have standardized or adjusted their rates for such significant variables as age, sex, and ethnicity. Some psychiatric surveys offer only a general description of their findings, presenting total numbers, percentages, or rates in terms of some specified population base, as if these data "speak for themselves." Whether or not rate differentials are "true" differences, and are not due to the probabilities of chance, cannot be determined from a mere description of the research findings. Furthermore, many surveys, particularly the large-scale inquiries, have omitted cases obtaining private treatment, thus running a risk of serious socio-economic bias in their results. The conditions that influence patients seeking privately rather than publicly supported psychiatric care and treatment can reasonably be expected to vary considerably in different locales within a society as complex as the United States. The great

majority of psychiatric surveys now comprising the literature have been unable to avoid one or more of these shortcomings.

How adequate, then, is our present knowledge of the incidence of mental disorders in our population and of the social and cultural forces involved? Would the results of previous surveys be corroborated by one conducted in a different region, on a large population, including private as well as public patients, who would be counted regardless of the mode of psychiatric care and treatment received, utilizing new patients and thereby computing incidence rather than prevalence rates, and adjusting them for age, sex, and ethnicity? This is the preliminary report of such a survey.* It is offered as a quantitative baseline against which the findings of other surveys may be compared and the present status of our knowledge of the social epidemiology of mental disorders evaluated.

The study was designed to include all inhabitants of the state of Texas who sought psychiatric treatment for a psychosis for the first time in their lives during the two-year period of 1951 and 1952. Data were obtained from all psychiatrists in private practice in Texas during this time, and from all private, Veterans Administration, city-county, and state mental hospitals in the state. The states bordering Texas were also canvassed and many cases were picked up who had received treatment out of the state.

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The major hypotheses studied were:

(a) The probability of acquiring a psychosis is not random or equal among subgroups of the population.

(b) Inhabitants of different areas exhibit different incidences of psychosis.

(c) Persons with different social attributes or affiliations have different incidences of psychosis.

If these hypotheses were substantiated, then the study would also explore possible social characteristics associated with the psychotic population in an effort to further understanding of the social etiology of mental disorders.

Cases for the two-year period were averaged into an annual rate and computed for the 27 economic sub-regions of the state. All rates were adjusted for age, sex, and major ethnic composition (Anglo-American, Spanish-American, and Negro) of each of the sub-regions. The 1950 population of Texas constituted the "standard population" for adjustment of the rates.

FINDINGS

General rates. A total of 11,304 cases was found for the two-year period; Texas is thus generating nearly one new psychotic case per year per 1,000 population, or 75 per 100,000 population per year. There were five new functional cases for

each case of old-age and organic psychotic disorders.

Ecological distribution. When standardized for age, sex, and ethnic composition, average annual incidence rates for all psychoses were found to be highest along most of the Gulf Coast, extending westward to parts of central Texas. Lowest rates were found in west Texas and the Dallas-Fort Worth sub-region.

Availability of psychiatric facilities has often been regarded as a source of bias in incidence rates for areas. A rank-order correlation of .40 was found between the number of psychiatrists in private practice and the rate in the sub-regions. While this is a stable correlation, it is obviously not sufficient to account for most of the distribution pattern. An insignificant correlation (.38) was obtained between the incidence rates and number of psychiatric beds for the sub-regions. Consequently, the pattern of distribution of these rates cannot be adequately explained by the availability of psychiatric facilities in different parts of the state.

Age and sex. Age was positively correlated with incidence of psychoses, the rate increasing with advancing age. Females had higher rates than males for all age-levels up through age 54. After that, the rate for males was higher than for females in the same age bracket (Table 1).

TABLE 1.
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCIDENCE RATES OF PSYCHOSES BY AGE AND SEX,
TEXAS, 1951-1952, PER 100,000 POPULATION

Age group	Males		Females		Total	
	No. cases	Rate	No. cases	Rate	No. cases	Rate
Under 15	5.5	1.1	9.5	1.0	15.0	0.7
15-24	262.0	42.2	294.0	48.0	556.0	45.0
25-34	541.0	89.7	719.5	116.8	1260.5	103.4
35-44	536.5	98.1	699.0	126.7	1235.5	112.4
45-54	445.5	106.0	555.0	134.9	1000.5	120.3
55-64	380.0	133.3	357.5	127.0	737.5	130.2
65-74	264.0	154.6	224.5	121.5	488.5	137.4
75 or more	201.0	273.7	154.5	182.8	355.5	225.1
Total cases	2635.5		3013.5		5649.0	
Adjusted rate		68.3		78.4		73.3

It is of interest to note that this is the first large-scale study to find a higher incidence among females than among males. It is conceivable that age and sex statuses in the life cycle affect the probability of becoming psychotic as much as predispositions to mental breakdown due to the maturation cycle of the organism. Aging may have different meanings for the sexes in contemporary society, and the difference may be significant in the social etiology of mental illness.

Ethnic differentials. Among the three major ethnic groups, Anglo-Americans exhibited the highest rates and Spanish-American the lowest, with the non-whites falling in between. Females had higher rates of incidence than did males among both the Anglo-American and Spanish-American groups, but the opposite was true for non-whites. There are

whites, although the Spanish Americans had the lowest rates for all other disorders. This finding is consistent with a recent psychiatric study of the Mexican family structure, which held it to be conducive to depressive reactions, especially for the female. (5) The Spanish-American females in this study showed higher rates than males of manic-depressive, involutional, and schizophrenic psychoses, but lower rates of old-age and organic disorders. Considerably more research on Mexican family systems in the southwest and in Mexico is needed, however, before "old-world traits transplanted" can be connected to the Spanish-American psychotic case.

Source of diagnosis and treatment. Slightly less than half of the patients in the survey went to publicly supported institutions for diagnosis and treatment of their psychoses: 4 per

TABLE 2.
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCIDENCE RATES OF PSYCHOSES BY AGE, SEX,
AND MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS, PER 100,000 POPULATION, TEXAS, 1951-52

Age group	Males			Females		
	Anglo	Spanish	Non-white	Anglo	Spanish	Non-white
Under 15	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.7
15-24	40.4	36.3	59.3	52.0	32.2	46.1
25-34	94.7	56.0	92.7	127.4	82.2	85.0
35-44	106.3	56.9	81.2	144.4	68.8	67.1
45-54	119.0	53.9	65.4	153.1	66.6	71.6
55-64	141.9	79.4	111.2	139.6	59.1	78.9
65-74	169.7	59.7	117.3	135.0	61.4	68.9
75 or more	292.6	138.0	225.8	199.0	73.7	124.5
Adjusted rate	73.0	39.8	60.7	87.0	44.4	50.6

marked variations in the ethnic distribution of psychotics for the different regions of the state. The rank-order correlations of the rates for the sub-regions among the three major ethnic groups were insignificant, indicating that different factors are involved in generating psychosis among the ethnic groups in different areas.

Analysis of the rates for specific types of psychosis showed that the Spanish-American group had a higher incidence of manic-depressive and involutional psychoses than did the non-

cent to city-county hospitals, 7 per cent to Veterans Administration hospitals, and 36 per cent to state hospitals. Among males, 56 per cent went to publicly supported hospitals, against only 38 per cent of females. In terms of ethnic groups, 39 per cent of the Anglo-American patients obtained public care, compared to 73 per cent of the Spanish-American and 95 per cent of the non-white. Consequently, if this survey had been confined to cases admitted to publicly supported hospitals, a considerable

bias in rates by sex and ethnic group would have occurred.

Occupational class. Because of the limited project staff, occupations had to be coded in broad categories or classes. Using the Edwards scale, a crude test for the relationship between occupational class and incidence rates was made. The rank-order correlation was insignificant ($-.03$). Rank order of incidence was somewhat different for males and females (Table 3). These rates were computed in terms of members of the labor force. If housewives were included among female occupations, they would fall between the service and the clerical and sales workers.

These results are considerably different from those yielded by surveys in other areas of the nation. Professionals particularly have usually been found to exhibit extremely low rates of psychosis, although high for the psychoneuroses. Rural rates, with few exceptions, also have been regarded as lower than urban rates, in contrast to the high rate found in Texas for male agricultural workers.

Marital status. More psychotics came from homes broken by marital discord than from homes characterized by other types of marital status. There was but a slight difference between the sexes in the rank order of rates by marital status (Table 4); for both sexes combined, the rate of psychosis was highest among the divorced.

Other variables, such as rural-urban location, migration, education, and church affiliation will be reported on in a later paper.

DISCUSSION

The findings support the three major hypotheses of the study: the probability of becoming psychotic is not random or equal among subgroups of the population; inhabitants of different areas within the state exhibit different incidences of psychosis; and persons with different social attributes and affiliations have different rates of psychiatric disorders. The study also points to the importance of investigating different regions, of including patients in both public and private care, and of controlling for age, sex, and ethnicity.

TABLE 3.

AVERAGE ANNUAL ADJUSTED INCIDENCE RATES OF PSYCHOSES BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASS, PER 100,000 POPULATION, TEXAS, 1951-52

Occupational class: Males	Adj. rate	Occupational class: females	Adj. rate
Unemployed	348	Unemployed & unmarried	3,863
Professional & semi-professional	139	Professional & semi-professional	159
Agricultural	122	Service	103
Manual work	119	Clerical & sales	101
Service	111	Manual work	87
Clerical & sales	97	Agricultural	72
Managerial, official, & proprietary	58	Managerial, official, & proprietary	55

TABLE 4.

AVERAGE ANNUAL ADJUSTED INCIDENCE RATES OF PSYCHOSES BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, PER 100,000 POPULATION, TEXAS, 1951-52

Marital status: Males	Adj. rate	Marital status: Females	Adj. rate
Divorced	307	Separated	254
Separated	225	Divorced	240
Single	223	Single	179
Widowed	114	Widowed	107
Married	62	Married	92

Other adjustments of rates may prove necessary as further knowledge accumulates. One recent study has suggested, for instance, that migration be included among the control variables. (12)

Furthermore, a distinction must also be made between studies of incidence and prevalence. The prevalence rate, based on cases obtained on one census date, is a function of annual incidence, duration and intensity of illness, modes of onset, quality of treatment, etc. Thus, chronic cases obtaining custodial care in state hospitals are more likely to be included in prevalence studies than cases obtaining acute, short-term treatment. Cases are thus not weighted equally. Incidence could actually be equal in two groups with markedly different prevalence. Since ours is an incidence study, this is perhaps one reason why we found professional occupations to have a far higher rate of psychoses than the Yale study of New Haven (8): professionals may have a low *prevalence* and a high *incidence* of psychosis. It is also suggested that "professionals" may have a "marginal" status in the social structure of the state studied.

Also, studies using first admissions to hospitals alone have only limited validity for comparative research. The factors affecting such admissions are still largely undetermined, although known to be numerous and perhaps variant in different sections of the country. Thus, differences found between studies based entirely on hospital admissions, especially to state hospitals, might be due to many unknowns not related to incidence itself. Furthermore, a portion of patients listed as first admissions in one area might well have been hospitalized and treated elsewhere. Consequently, hospital admissions may confound factors that led to hospitalization with those related to the onset of mental illness. Data are needed on

social conditions existing at the time of *first* onset of illness in order to determine social etiology. Areal studies, ecological or otherwise, of mental disorders do not meet this need, although they are capable of finding new facts, as well as more reliable and valid data, about social factors related to mental illness.

In interpreting the findings of this study the rates should be regarded as "treated" or "known" incidence in contrast to the "true" incidence of psychoses. Because of the excellent cooperation of private psychiatrists and hospitals in and around Texas, we believe that at most, only a small fraction of known psychotics could have escaped our net. However, there is always a disparity between the actual number of cases in a population and the number coming to the attention of psychiatric personnel. For this reason, we confined our inquiry to psychoses, rather than include neuroses and minor mental aberrations, because they are more likely to come to the attention of psychiatrists than are the lesser disorders, due to their more severely disorganizing effects. Nevertheless, it has been said that in rural communities, or, in the case of Texas, so-called "pioneer" areas, men are more likely to bring their wives and children in for psychiatric treatment than themselves. Whether this in part explains why the rate was higher for females than for males in Texas, we can only speculate. Again, the fact that slightly more than half of the total cases went to private psychiatrists instead of public institutions for treatment may result partly from the "stigma" of being publicly committed to the state hospitals. The state requirement, up until a few months ago, of jury trials for indefinite commitments to state institutions may have deterred many people from obtaining public care during the study period. (10)

Taking the above factors into consideration, the following are suggested as plausible sociological reasons for some of the findings, insofar as they reflect "true" differences in the incidence of psychosis:

Industrialization. Industrialization and consequent urbanization have often been held as conditions related to an increase in the rate of mental illness. However, we find that the two most heavily industrialized regions of the state had the highest and lowest rates of psychoses for the same period. It is suggested that perhaps the *kinds* of industrialization may affect the incidence of mental illness, rather than industrialization *per se*. The Gulf Coast, which showed the highest incidence, is an area of "basic industry"—extraction industries particularly, such as oil and chemicals, and with large installations. The working force is likely to be less skilled, and working conditions more primitive and unstable, than in other forms of industry. The Dallas-Fort Worth area, on the other hand, is also heavily industrialized, but has a diversified industry with smaller installations, and also contains a dominant financial center (banking and insurance) for the state. Its working force is more skilled and contains a larger white-collar segment than the Gulf Coast region.

Furthermore, the population base for the Dallas-Fort Worth area was already urban (and perhaps more urbane) while the Gulf Coast region was formerly highly rural. The transition to industrialization was less stressful for the former than for the latter population, in that migrants into the Dallas-Fort Worth area are more likely to have come from other urban-industrial areas than migrants to the Gulf Coast, who are more likely to have come from farming areas and small towns. Consequently, it is suggested that *who* industrializes an

area, as well as the particular form of industrialization, may bear a significant relationship to rates of mental disorder.

Anomie. The fact that the divorced, separated, single, and widowed had higher rates than married persons lends support to Durkheim's concept of *anomie*. In psychiatric terms, the psychotic reaction to *anomie* can be described essentially as a loss or confusion of personal identity. Such a condition can feasibly be regarded as related to mental aberration as much as to such other symptoms of disorganization as suicide. (2) Other findings also suggest a connection between *anomie* and psychiatric disorders, but lack of space prevents discussing them here.

While it is possible that a pre-psychotic person may also be one who is likely to get divorced or remain single, it is equally possible that such a marital condition may precipitate a predisposed individual into mental stress or conflict. This is a "chicken-or-the-egg" question; there is no need to seek a single cause, nor are multiple etiological answers necessarily invalid.

Enculturation. We have found that membership in different ethnic groups affects one's chances of becoming psychotic. One reason for these differences may lie in the degree of enculturation (or acculturation on the group level). One aspect of becoming enculturated in the predominant Anglo-American culture is to go to physicians for treatment of illness. Thus, it is quite possible that, of the three ethnic groups studied, the Spanish-Americans are the least integrated into the Anglo culture and are thus least likely to obtain medical care for their mental as well as physical ailments. The frequency of practicing "witch-doctors" in the Latin-American communities of the southwest indicates this lesser ac-

ceptance of "anglo-medicine." (14)

It seems unlikely, however, that "witches" or "witch-doctors" account entirely for the extremely low incidence of psychotics among the Mexican group, as determined by the method we used. Their own sub-culture has remained somewhat intact during their accommodation to Anglo society. This is indicated by the bilingual status of their families and the adoption of many of their customs and traits by the Anglos in the southwest. Consequently, the source of much of their stress and tension is likely to come from the "outside" social world. Furthermore, it is also likely that a major part of the Spanish-American social structure is functioning as a protection against stress for its members. This is especially true of its kinship system, providing a highly integrated, continuous, and "familistic" unit. Therefore, this sub-culture is more likely than other ethnic groups in Texas today to contain therapeutic agents that may guard against prolonged stress and thus reduce the incidence of psychosis among its members. However, as this sub-culture becomes assimilated into the dominant culture of the Anglos, one can predict that the incidence of mental illness will increase correspondingly and become more like that of the Anglos in form as well as frequency.

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INTERFAITH MARRIAGES

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Kennedy and Hollingshead, in their studies of New Haven, Connecticut, arrived at the conclusion that interfaith marriage rates are so small that religion is the chief barrier to assimilation in the United States. Kennedy found that the per cent of Catholics who married non-Catholics was consistently low, ranging from 14 to 18 per cent for three decades beginning with 1900. (6)* She concluded that "religious endogamy is persisting and the future cleavage will be along religious lines rather than along nationality lines as in the past." (6, p. 332) She held that the concept of the single melting pot of assimilation should be replaced by the idea of the triple melting pot. While she applied this idea to the United States as a whole, she emphasized that her data were exclusively for New Haven.

Hollingshead secured data on this question from interviews with 437 white couples in New Haven in 1949. He reported that of all married couples involving Jews, Catholics, and Protestants the per cent of interfaith marriages was about 3 for Jews, 6 for Catholics, and 27 for Protestants. (3) He concluded: "Kennedy's and our data show we are going to have three pots boiling merrily side by side with little fusion between them for an indefinite period." (3, p. 624)

John Thomas, using 1949 data, found that the triple-melting-pot idea

did not apply even to the state of Connecticut, which had a relatively high rate of Catholic interfaith marriage. He reported that 40 per cent of all Catholic marriages in Connecticut were mixed. (9) The data given below tends to emphasize the inadequacy of the triple-melting-pot theory of assimilation.

The specific purpose of this paper is to test systematically the hypothesis that the rate of interfaith marriage of a given religious group increases as the proportion of that group in the population decreases. We shall also examine the factors involved when cases deviate from the hypothesis. The two variables in the hypothesis are interfaith marriages and the proportion of a religious group in the population. An interfaith marriage is defined as one in which either the bride or groom is a member of a given religious group while the spouse is not. The interfaith marriage rate used here is the per cent which interfaith marriages are of all marriages involving members of a given religious group. The hypothesis will be tested by data from the United States and Canada.

UNITED STATES DATA

Our analysis for the United States will be confined to interfaith marriages of Catholics from data in the *Official Catholic Directory*. (7) This information is fairly complete and reliable because each parish submits an annual report which includes total marriages and the number of interfaith marriages. From this we com-

*Catholics are equated with three nationality groups: Italians, Irish, and Poles; Protestants with British Americans, Germans, and Scandinavians; Jews were recorded separately. Kennedy secured her data from marriage-license records.

puted the interfaith marriage rate. Obviously the interfaith marriages included are only those which the Church sanctions and considers valid. * (9, p. 488) Figures in the *Directory* on the number of Catholics, as in the case of most religious enumerations, are not entirely reliable since they are based on various Church censuses and estimates. They do, however, provide an approximation of the actual Catholic population. The general population figures of the various states are estimates of the United States Census.

The interfaith marriage rate and per cent of Catholics in the population of each state were computed for 1955 and also for 1945. The range of these variables may be illustrated by the 1955 figures. In that year Catholic interfaith marriage rates ranged from a low of 13 per cent in New Mexico to a high of 70 per cent in North Carolina. Only two states, New Mexico and Rhode Island, had rates of less than 20 per cent. On the other hand, 20 states had interfaith marriage rates between 40 and 70 per cent. The per cent of Catholics in the population ranged from 1 per cent in North Carolina to 61 per cent in Rhode Island.

High negative correlations were found between the interfaith marriage rates and the per cent of Catholics in the population for the 48 states.** The correlation for 1955 was $-.86$ and that for 1945 was $-.76$. These correlations indicate that the lower the per cent of a religious group in the

population, the higher the interfaith marriage rate—at least for Catholics.

This inverse relationship is further documented by regional data for the United States for 1955. In Table 1

TABLE 1.

PER CENT CATHOLIC OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT MIXED MARRIAGES, REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES*

Region	Per Cent Catholic	Per Cent Interfaith Marriages
New England	47	22
Middle Atlantic	33	24
East North Central	25	26
Mountain	21	29
Pacific	20	34
West South Central	18	23
West North Central	18	30
South Atlantic	5	50
East South Central	4	47

*Computed from *The Official Catholic Directory*, New York, J. P. Kenedy and Sons, 1955.

the regions are ranked from highest to lowest per cent Catholic in the population. As the per cent Catholic (column 1) decreases the interfaith marriage rate (column 2) increases. The lowest interfaith marriage rate, 22 per cent, was in New England which had the highest proportion of Catholics, 47 per cent. The other extreme, the East South Central region (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi), had an interfaith marriage rate of 87 per cent but a Catholic population accounting for only 4 per cent of the total.

On the basis of the evidence presented above, one would not be surprised to find a low interfaith marriage rate in New Haven. Since two thirds of Hollingshead's sample of 437 white couples were Catholics, his low interfaith marriage rate was to be expected. It is apparent that findings for New Haven would not indicate a low rate of interfaith marriage for the United States.

*John Thomas has shown that the number of invalid interfaith marriages is high. (9, p. 488) He studied about 30,000 interfaith marriages and found that 40 per cent were not sanctioned by the Church. He indicated that the interfaith marriage rate would be considerably higher if both valid and invalid marriages were included. However, there are no adequate data on the number of invalid marriages.

**Rank Order Correlations were used.

CANADIAN DATA

The hypothesis may be tested by data from official Canadian vital statistics and census publications. Brides and grooms state their religious affiliations at the time of marriage and from tabulations of this information we have computed interfaith marriage rates. The calculation of the per cent of a religious group in the population is possible because the Canadian census includes a question on religious affiliation.

In Table 2, the 10 provinces of

TABLE 2.

PER CENT CATHOLIC OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT INTER-FAITH MARRIAGES, PROVINCES OF CANADA*

Province	Per Cent Catholic	Per Cent Interfaith Marriages
Quebec	88	2
New Brunswick	51	8
Prince Edward Island	46	9
Nova Scotia	34	17
Newfoundland	34	17
Ontario	25	22
Saskatchewan	24	26
Manitoba	20	32
Alberta	20	33
British Columbia	14	46
Canada	43	11

*Computed from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Vital Statistics, 1951*, Ottawa, 1954, pp. 400-409; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Yearbook 1954*, Ottawa, 1954, p. 137. The rates were calculated for brides and bridegrooms taken together.

Canada are ranked according to the per cent Catholic in the population in 1951. It will be noted that there is a perfect negative relationship between the per cent Catholics and the interfaith marriage rates.

Anglican interfaith marriage rates and the per cent of Anglicans in the population are given in Table 3. While in general interfaith marriage rates increase with a decrease in the

proportion of Anglicans, this relationship is not a perfect one.

Thus data on Catholics in the United States and on Catholics and Anglicans in Canada support the hypothesis that the rate of interfaith marriage of a given religious group increases as the proportion of that group in the population decreases.

There are, of course, many other factors that are related to the level of intermarriage in a given area. One way of finding out what these factors are is to consider cases that deviate greatly from what can be expected on the basis of our hypothesis.

For example, Table 4 gives three pairs of states with about the same proportion of Catholics in the population. This table shows that there is a wide difference between the states of each pair in the rate of interfaith marriage. In fact, the interfaith marriage rate of one state in each pair is about twice as large as that of the other state.

Social distance may be one variable affecting the low interfaith marriage rates of Texas and New Mexico as compared with the high rates in Nevada and Connecticut. In Texas and New Mexico, Catholics are predominantly Mexican-Americans, while Catholics in Connecticut and Nevada have a different cultural background. In Connecticut a very large proportion of Catholics are of Irish, Polish, or Italian origin. The social-distance studies of Bogardus show that there is a much greater distance between the general population and Mexican-Americans than between the general population and Irish, Poles, and Italians. (1) Richards, investigating attitudes of 1,672 white college students in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, found that the social distance between these students and Mexicans was as great as between them and Negroes. (8) Additional

research might test the hypothesis that the greater the social distance between ethnic groups the lower the intermarriage rate.

✓ The cohesiveness of religious groups may be another factor affecting the level of interfaith marriage. For example, a study of religion in Ellis County, Kansas, reports the presence of five homogeneous and cohesive Russian-German Catholic communities. (5) If a similar situation exists in other counties in Kansas, these relatively isolated Catholic groups would have little contact with Protestants and thus the interfaith marriage rate would be reduced. The hypothesis is that the greater the homogeneity and cohesiveness of a religious group, the lower the intermarriage rate.

The cohesiveness hypothesis may be applicable also to the case of Quebec. It will be seen from the data given in Table 3 that Quebec has the

lowest per cent of Anglicans in the population and also a relatively low rate of Anglican interfaith marriage. There is evidence indicating that the Catholic French-Canadians, who constitute the majority of the population, are a cohesive group. (4)

✓ The level of economic status of a religious group may be related to the extent of interfaith marriage practiced by that group. The hypothesis would be that the higher the economic status, the higher the interfaith marriage rate. An example is the case of Arizona and Texas. There is evidence to indicate that Arizona Catholics have a much higher level of income than those in Texas, and this may account for the higher rate of Catholic interfaith marriage in Arizona.* Also Fichter's report of interfaith marriage in two parishes in New Orleans tends to support this idea. (2) One parish had a much higher socio-economic status than the other. Interfaith marriage was significantly greater in the parish having the higher status. This leads to the hypothesis that the higher the economic status of a religious group, the higher the intermarriage rate.

It appears that religion is not a major barrier to assimilation in the United States. At any rate, the proportion of Catholics who engage in interfaith marriage is relatively large in the United States as a whole. In 1955, of all Catholic marriages 27 per cent were valid interfaith marriages. If those not sanctioned by the Church were added to these, there

*Persons with Spanish surnames constitute about 70 per cent of the Catholic population in both Arizona and Texas. The median annual income of persons with Spanish surnames in Arizona is 44 per cent higher than of similar persons in Texas (1950 census data). We assume that persons with Spanish surnames are Catholics. On this basis we infer that Catholics in Arizona have a higher economic status than those in Texas.

TABLE 3.

PER CENT ANGLICAN OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT INTERFAITH MARRIAGES, PROVINCES OF CANADA*

Province	Per Cent Anglican	Per Cent Interfaith Marriages
Newfoundland	30	36
British Columbia	27	51
Ontario	20	49
Nova Scotia	18	47
Manitoba	16	54
Alberta	13	57
New Brunswick	12	57
Saskatchewan	11	59
Quebec	4	47
Canada	15	50

*Computed from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Vital Statistics, 1951*, Ottawa, 1954, pp. 400-409; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Yearbook 1954*, Ottawa, 1954, p. 137. The rates were calculated for brides and bridegrooms taken together.

would be an even higher per cent of interfaith marriage.

We have shown that the per cent of interfaith marriage of a religious group increases as the proportion of that group in the population decreases. In addition, we suggested that in cases where interfaith marriage rates differ from the expected, additional cultural factors such as social distance between groups, cohesiveness, and economic status may be related to such variations in interfaith marriage rates.

TABLE 4.

PER CENT CATHOLIC OF THE TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT INTER-FAITH MARRIAGES FOR SELECTED STATES*

States	Per Cent Catholic	Per Cent Interfaith Marriages
Kansas	13	27
Washington	11	46
Texas	20	20
Nevada	20	49
New Mexico	47	13
Connecticut	47	24

*Computed from *The Official Catholic Directory*, New York, J. P. Kenedy and Sons, 1955.

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THE TREATMENT OF PRE-MARITAL COITUS IN "MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY" TEXTS*

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This paper is a critical analysis of the treatment given to pre-marital sexual intercourse by our "marriage and the family" textbook authors. It is contended that many of these sociologists have erred in their implicit assumptions regarding the structure of our pre-marital sexual relations and that, partially because of this, their treatment of the consequences of pre-marital intercourse neglects or misinterprets much of the available empirical evidence. Although almost any of the many texts that were examined would have served as an example, four texts stood out as exceptionally good illustrations of these criticisms and reference will be made to them throughout this paper.

IMPLICIT ASSUMPTIONS

Let us begin our analysis by examining some brief quotations from each of these four texts which indicate the assumptions these authors make concerning pre-marital intercourse.

It is difficult to make a strong case for pre-marital sex relations, for most of the arguments seem to stem from the rationalization of one's desire to satisfy his sex urge whenever he wishes without regard to the social experience of previous generations. (1, p. 596)

Instead of its [pre-marital sexual intercourse] being something through which love is expressed, something that is an essential part of a deep and growing oneness in marriage, it becomes only a means to satisfy an appetite. (2, p. 184)

We have been reared to expect tenderness and romance in our love life and we are unprepared for sex relations without genuine intimacy [such as pre-marital coitus]. (5, pp. 134-135)

The major if not the total emphasis of the pre-marital experience is self centered sex gratification. (10, p. 243)

These quotations indicate the structural assumptions under which all these authors are operating—they seem strongly to believe that pre-marital intercourse is almost always a lustful, selfish, and promiscuous relation, barren of affection and tenderness. They treat pre-marital intercourse as if all of it were this "physical" type and as if no "psychical" type existed. Such a set of assumptions overlooks much of the evidence available in the Terman, Kinsey, Burgess and Wallin, and other studies, which the textbook authors refer to and seem aware of. Yet the evidence in all of these studies indicates clearly that the largest group of non-virginal females were those who engaged in intercourse only with their fiancé—this group contained between 45-70 per cent of all the non-virginal women. (3, p. 330; 8, pp. 363-339; 12, p. 321) Even allowing for expected understatement by female respondents and other research errors, there still seems to be ample evidence that many young people engage in intercourse with people whom they deeply love. It would indeed be strange to describe this sort of intercourse as "lustful, selfish, and promiscuous, barren of affection and tenderness." In the Burgess and Wallin study, over 90 per cent of the engaged couples who were indulging in coitus stated that they felt their sexual

* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in New York, April 13-14, 1957.

intercourse had strengthened their love relation. (3, p. 371) It seems clear that a significant segment of the pre-marital intercourse which occurs in America is better described as a "tender, person-centered, affectionate type" rather than a "selfish, body-centered, unaffectionate type."

We believe that there are several standards regulating sexual behavior in America. Some of these standards accent and lead to a "body-centered type" of coitus while others seem to give rise to a "person-centered type" of coitus. Both kinds of standards and their resultant behavior types must be considered in any significant analysis of pre-marital sexual relations.* By stressing only "body-centered" coital behavior and overlooking other behavioral types and related sexual standards, our textbook authors have largely failed to give us a valid picture of the structure of pre-marital sexual relations in America.

TREATMENT OF CONSEQUENCES

(a) *Psychological effects of pre-marital coitus.* Let us now examine how these textbook authors handle the consequences of pre-marital intercourse and see whether their narrow assumptions about the nature of such sexual behavior hinders their work. Duvall and Hill state their position regarding the psychological consequences of pre-marital intercourse as follows:

The case for conformity to the moral code has constituted the content of this chapter. This particular code applies to old as well as to the young, to men as

well as women. It involves a single standard of morality. . . . Conformity to a single standard pays dividends in emotional stability, creativity and integrity. Non-conformity for most socialized Americans brings a certain quantum of guilt, dangers of involvement to the point of personality distortion to both parties and possible probationary status in one's peer group. (5, p. 147)

We can all agree with the truism that if you do what you fully believe to be wrong, you will most likely suffer from guilt feelings. But I think we may seriously question the assumption underlying this quotation, namely, that most Americans fully believe in a single standard of morality. The evidence seems strongly to indicate that most Americans accept a double standard which gives the male more freedom than the female and that this standard is breaking down, not in the direction of abstinence, but rather in the direction of a single standard of permissiveness which accepts coitus when a stable, affectionate relationship is involved. (3, pp. 351-352; 4, 8, pp. 321-324; 11; 12, p. 321) The single standard of abstinence may be the one we pay lip service to in our formal assertions of belief. Yet for many Americans violation of abstinence would probably not result in serious guilt feelings, for they have stronger allegiances in other directions. We should note that Kinsey found that about two-thirds of the non-virginal females in his sample said they had no regrets about their pre-marital behavior, and Burgess and Wallin found that of their engaged couples, over 84 per cent of the women and 96 per cent of the men expressed no guilt feelings. (3, p. 375; 8, pp. 316-317)

Furthermore, there is evidence to indicate that even those who follow the path of abstinence may find themselves involved in psychological difficulties, e.g., the abstinent woman has difficulties in meeting many dating

* The author has worked out a paradigm of sexual standards in a soon to be finished book. Such a paradigm seems sorely needed. We shall mention most of the standards used in this paradigm in the course of this paper but we shall avoid any detailed discussion of standards since that is not essential for our topic.

expectations today and she encounters role conflicts between "pure virgin roles" before marriage and "good sex partner roles" after marriage, to mention but a few areas of tension. In a period of transition, it appears that almost any standard will lead to personal conflict of some sort.

The statement by Duvall and Hill seems very one sided and overlooks the evidence and reasoning mentioned about. This is the case largely because these authors are thinking of pre-marital coitus "without affection," the "selfish, promiscuous type" which is popularly believed to have the worst psychological consequences. They are also picturing most Americans as strong adherents of the single standard of abstinence. Given a puritanical American engaging in promiscuous intercourse we might agree that the psychological effects would be disturbing. But how often is that the case . . . is it even a typical situation? We think not and the large store of evidence indicating the widespread occurrence of "affectionate, tender, person-centered intercourse," lacking in guilt feelings supports our views. Many people seem quite able to accept pre-marital coitus when a stable, affectionate relationship is involved. We might add that many other people (although probably a much smaller total number, made up of more men than women) are able to accept pre-marital coitus even when the relationship is not stable and does not involve strong affectionate feelings. Here as elsewhere there is much need for more specific research to give us the kind of precise information we need to help us understand the differential distribution of the consequences of pre-marital sexual relationships.

Baber seems to support Duvall and Hill by his view of the psychological affects of pre-marital intercourse.

Young folk of real character have great difficulty with their consciences when they indulge in sex behavior which they know runs squarely against all their home training, their moral and religious teaching and the established tenets of society. (1, p. 597)

Again, we must say, many people seem to lack what Baber thinks of as "real character" and are thus able to engage in intercourse without these disastrous effects.

Bowman and Landis and Landis also warn of the psychological effects of pre-marital intercourse:

Repetition of intercourse before marriage is likely to become increasingly unsatisfying and incomplete because there tends to be nothing but physical release. (2, p. 186)

Those who are experimenting before marriage are not building a relationship which meets the emotional and psychic needs of both. Pre-marital intercourse must of necessity be chiefly on the physical level, characterized by selfishness rather than mutuality. (10, p. 138)

The assumption that all pre-marital intercourse is of the "body-centered, unaffectionate type" clearly peers through these quotations. Because of this assumption these authors fail to realize that many people who are experiencing another more affectionate type of coitus may not be seriously bothered by such consequences and may find their relations characterized by love and tenderness rather than selfishness and pure physical release. Also, even those who are practicing a more physical type of coitus, if they accept such a permissive standard, may not be conscience-stricken by their behavior. There may well be a self-selective factor operative here. Those most likely to feel regret may be those least likely to indulge.

The picture painted by the textbook authors is true for certain people under certain conditions, but these authors have failed to specify these particulars and have thereby given the impression that such consequences

as they describe are virtually inevitable.

(b) *Relation to engagement and marital failure.* Let us examine one more supposed consequence of pre-marital intercourse—the relation of such behavior to engagement and marital failure. We find here a full contingent of rash statements.

Unfortunately the history of couples who establish full sex relationships outside of marriage is not encouraging to read. Even engaged couples who have agreed on marriage plans find full sex relations bring unanticipated consequences . . . there are many indications that their idealized images of one another may be shattered thereby, that the sense of mystery, the aura of holiness, will vanish. (5, p. 145)

Modern young people who pride themselves on being informed and sophisticated ought to be keen enough to see that, up to date, pre-marital intercourse has never produced better marriage. . . . It is never good preparation for marriage. It is never necessary preparation. Most marriages succeed better without it. None require it. Many are damaged by it. (2, p. 191)

These statements are far too extreme to be justified by the available research evidence, e.g., Terman and Hamilton did find a slight correlation between pre-marital intercourse and such failures but these men clearly stated that this was not to be taken as proof of a causal connection. (7, 12) The slight correlation may be the result of the fact that unconventional people have less objection to breaking an unsatisfactory relation and also less objection to engaging in pre-marital intercourse. This entire area is very much undecided at the present time. Even the definition of the terms "success or failure" have not been clearly settled. There may be some unconscious association of conformity with success, thus biasing the results. (6, 9)

It seems likely that one would have to consider the type of pre-marital intercourse and the standards of the

people involved before one could say what would follow from such behavior. The consequences should differ for the "person-centered, affectionate relation" and the "body-centered, unaffectionate relation," as well as for those who accept what they are doing and those who disapprove of their own behavior. It may also be well to keep in mind that although sexual relations are important, an engagement and a marriage are based on many other additional factors that may counteract any effect of sexual behavior. (3, pp. 656-698) It may well be that in our sexually frustrated culture we overemphasize the importance of sexual relations.

We have already mentioned the evidence from Burgess and Wallin showing how engaged couples praised the effects of pre-marital coitus. Nevertheless, we should also note that because pre-marital coitus enables people to know each other better, it may in some cases open the eyes of the romantically illudioned and disillusion them. In other cases it may lead to guilt feelings and/or a loss of respect for each other. Here again it seems that the most serious consequences occur to those who are most opposed to pre-marital coitus to begin with. However, the evidence on guilt feelings indicates that most such people avoid intercourse and thus these consequences should not be too common. Additional research in this area is sorely needed to qualify more fully the differential distribution of this consequence.

We can see that by thinking of only one type of intercourse, these authors have damaged their treatment of this consequence. Instead of trying to discern the different consequences that follow from different types and standards of intercourse, they have assumed the practical inevitability of one type of coitus and one set of consequences.

CONCLUSIONS

We should note here that the textbook authors' strong moral objections to pre-marital intercourse and their reliance on a "guidance" approach seemed to contribute to the lack of objectivity in their treatment of pre-marital intercourse. They were so occupied by their distaste for this type of activity and their attempt to "prove" their values that they often neglected the objective approach to this area of behavior.

Basically it seems, however, that much of the difficulty could be cleared up would these authors realize that not all pre-marital intercourse is of the exclusively "body-centered type" and not all Americans are the romantic puritans that these authors picture.

I think in fairness to our students and ourselves, it is high time that we became more critical of our "marriage and the family" textbooks. Such a move is necessary if we are to gain additional insight into the social and cultural structure associated with pre-marital sexual relations. As a rough beginning in this direction we might suggest that future textbook authors accept the fact that pre-marital sexual behavior varies on a continuum from "body-centered and unaffectionate" to "person-centered and affectionate." Further, it would be well to emphasize that we have several sexual standards in American which regulate both the "person-centered" and the "body centered" types of coitus. We have at least the four major standards which we mentioned in the body of this paper: namely, a single standard of abstinence which is our formal standard, a double standard which is our weakening informal standard, a permissive standard which requires basically only physical attraction as a prerequisite for having coitus, and finally, an increasingly popular permissive standard which

requires stable, affectionate relations as its prerequisite.

If we approach this area with this awareness of the multiplicity of types of behavior and standards which exist, then we can have more certainty of a precise and careful delineation of the conditions under which certain consequences occur. In this way we can come to appreciate the significant connections that exist among the different types and standards of pre-marital coitus and the equally important connections that tie this area of behavior to the other major aspects of our society.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The New American Right. Edited by Daniel Bell. New York: Criterion, 1955. viii, 239 pp. \$4.00.

Despite its disappearance from the headlines, the subject of "McCarthyism" is still worthy of the serious attention of social scientists. Whether the inquiry be considered an autopsy or the diagnosis of a powerful, if temporarily quiescent, mass political tendency, analysis of the public appeal of the Wisconsin Senator and his political associates remains a challenging assignment.

The publication of *The New American Right*, a series of essays with the latter viewpoint, marked the most systematic attempt in this direction. Despite the competence of the scholars represented (Daniel Bell, Richard Hofstadter, David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, Talcott Parsons, Seymour Lipset, and Peter Viereck), and the thoroughness of the collective effort, the result is to the writer very unsatisfactory. In fact, though published about a year ago, the discussion appears, especially in the light of the 1956 elections, quite obsolete. Our intention, however, is not to review the volume. We propose, instead, to utilize our criticisms of its content as a springboard for our own analysis.

Although the various articles in *The New American Right* differ slightly in approach and emphasis, they all have a common analytical framework. As do many other observers, the authors subsume the McCarthy appeal under the generic heading of the *radical right*. Like the old "Taft Wing" of the Republican Party, this is the political tendency advocating a relative laissez faire in domestic policy and both isolation and belligerence in foreign affairs. But, the radical right carries this politics to an irresponsible extreme.

(Unlike Taft, for instance, most radical right politicians have typically exhibited little loyalty to the official Republican leadership.) The most characteristic propaganda coloration is a continuing, retrospective campaign against the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. More than that, the Democratic economic reforms and foreign policy are both attacked as symptoms of "softness towards Communism." Anti-Communism thus becomes the simple sloganized link of all radical right politics. "McCarthyism" is an appropriate rallying point, because acceptance of McCarthy's activities can be interpreted as a unidimensional measure of anti-Communism. As a corollary of this position, radical right spokesmen demand conformity in government, schools, communication media, etc., for they judge dissenters from their views as, at best, unsympathetic to the fight against Communism. Intellectuals have been, as a group, especially subject to radical right condemnation, for they are, by profession, purveyors and inspirers of dissent. The designation "radical right" is, therefore, a reflection of the desire to alter traditional political modes in the direction of authoritarianism, even though the typical rhetoric extolls traditional American political values.

The radical right cohorts include prominent Congressional figures, nationally syndicated columnists, the publishers of large-circulation newspapers and newspaper chains, the editors of "house organs" like *National Review* and *American Mercury*, powerful financial backers, etc. These add up to considerable influence in national affairs. The dominant national political and economic leadership is, however, either neutral or hostile. Nevertheless, the radical right comprises the most dynamic

force on the current political scene.

Radical right politicians can completely detour the normal operations of government bodies. Their line of argument sets the tone of political controversy. Above all, only the radical right message can, at this time, stir, and when necessary, *mobilize* people. It has captured the *elan* lost by the "liberal left." (Viereck, who identifies himself as a "new conservative," sees the radical right as the most fearsome current manifestation of "mass democracy" in "revolt against the elites.")

To continue the analysis common to the authors of the *New American Right*, the radical right has this potentiality less because of the manifest content of its propaganda than because of the latent underpinnings. Radical right strength is a manifestation of the most prevalent strain in contemporary American society—the *status needs* of the vertically mobile, both *upward* and *downward*. In contrast, continuing prosperity has vitiated the conventional *economic* arguments of the "liberal left." For some reason, the *New American Right* rarely counterposes the appeal of the Republican administration's politics, however labeled, with that of the radical right.

The downward mobile are, primarily, the members of some Protestant, "old American" families, desperate about maintaining their status in the face of loss of economic position and the successful assimilation of immigrant groups; their best organizational expression is the Daughters of the American Revolution. Their contemporary political allies are the very groups that have assumed their old position — the rising members of immigrant groups and the newly rich frontier businessmen; the former is best symbolized by wealthy Irish Catholics, the latter by Texas oil millionaires.

Status resentments have no rational grounding and no possible rational solution. No one can design legislation to acquire or regain status. The only outlet is *indignation*, and the radical right furnishes a ready, legitimate object in the Communists and their presumed allies. There are, furthermore, special psychological rewards from this type of politics, which makes it so appealing to the contrasting upward and downward mobile groups. The status insecure can chastize their "betters" for being insufficiently anti-Communist, therefore less patriotic Americans. Whereas status insecure groups formerly vented their anger at some "out groups," they now have the unique opportunity of attacking high status opponents. For they can identify the Democratic administration with liberal intellectuals and, ultimately, with what can be termed the American aristocracy. Rancor directed against names like Hiss, Lattimore, Acheson, even Roosevelt and Stevenson, is much more satisfying than accusations against weak minorities. Because of their ability to mobilize their following by appealing to these prevalent latent needs, the radical right leaders have already and can further drive the political structure towards increased authoritarianism and political debate towards more totalitarian stereotyping. The authors, writing before the recent election campaign, imply that "McCarthyism," as the most dramatic portrayal of radical right action, may be in temporary eclipse, but is still a vital political force and, to them, a continuing serious danger.

Our criticism of *The New American Right* is intended as a bridge for our own analysis. Little attention will, therefore, be given to the emphasized sociological framework. We simply question the political saliency of rapid vertical mobility. The status insecurity of the listed upward and

mobile groups may be very real. But, despite constant reiteration, the volume offers little evidence that its effects are profound enough to have any appreciable influence on mass political attitudes. [The attempted substantiation is very oblique. On the one hand, there is a list of prominent McCarthy supporters who are from the aforementioned groups (but without sufficient indication that there is any *mass support* from these groups, with the exception of the "newly established" ethnic minorities). Evidence for the connecting link between background and political attitudes, i.e. *mobility tensions*, studies of *individuals*: prejudiced people are prone to "pseudo-conservative" political attitudes (T. W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality*), and the rapidly vertical mobile tend to be prejudiced. (Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*.)] No social research findings attest to the current significance of this type of status insecurity. Nor, interestingly enough, is it a widespread theme in either "high brow" or popular culture. Continuing this dispute in the absence of sufficient data would be unproductive; instead, we offer our alternative analytic schema.

Like the contributors to *The New American Right*, we accept "McCarthyism" as the most clear expression of the radical right political tendency. The two terms can thus be used interchangeably for the immediate purposes. Unlike them, we deny that either term describes any *movement*—past, present, or in the foreseeable future. There are prominent political leaders, in and out of office, pressing the politics outlined, often with planned collaboration. There are functioning organizations, financial "angels," and powerful journalistic exponents. There is a large receptive *audience* for the radical right message—even if it seems, at the moment,

to be more attentive to other voices. But, there is no mobilizeable *mass movement*, and there is no immediate likelihood of such a movement.

The crucial test came during the Senate debate on McCarthy's censure. A significant part of the population has, to some degree, approved the actions of the Wisconsin Senator; a large number supported him during this controversy. (According to the Gallup polls, about a third of those who gave any attention to the subject were against the Senate censure of McCarthy. A further interesting finding, however, is that very few of these would vote for McCarthy if he ran for president against Eisenhower and Stevenson.) Yet, all attempts at mobilizing a large scale protest were unsuccessful. (For example, Westbrook Pegler, an ardent supporter, publicly lamented that attendance at these meetings was "melancholy and depressing." More especially, he described the hoped-for big Madison Square Garden rally as a "turkey.") Rallies to defend McCarthy were very poorly attended. Some of the radical right audience responded, at best, by signing petitions. Because they have not built a mass movement, the radical right spokesmen have been able to affect only a few, generally minor, government policies in opposition to the official leadership of both parties. McCarthy's speeches and Congressional hearings have produced little beyond the discharge of several State Department officials. He and his colleagues have "pressured" more extensive and extreme security and loyalty policies, but they can claim little else. When McCarthy did try to contest the Eisenhower administration on a major policy issue, he completely failed. He urged a national television and radio audience to petition the President to curtail aid to nations trading with Communist countries. Even this slight attempt at mobilization brought an inconse-

quential response, and no substantial change resulted.

Finally, the radical right spokesmen were never responsible for any prevailing atmosphere of political controversy, as *The New American Right* authors suggest. It is true that McCarthy, Jenner, etc., have helped foster an inordinate attention to questions of "security" and "loyalty," resulting in less attention to more profound issues, distortion of the views of opponents, and the aforementioned impulsion towards conformity in political ideas. But, they have only intensified the existing political climate, which they did not create. They have, in fact, obtained their wide audience because they so aptly express a *crucial aspect* of the recent, and still probably existent, political mood — the emphasis on security and loyalty problems. That this audience has not become a movement is, likewise, a reflection of the political temper.

The continuing Cold War is the obvious reason why security-loyalty questions have such political pertinence and, therefore, why the radical right message has its appeal. (Oddly enough, the Cold War background receives very little attention in the articles of *The New American Right*.) Of course, the reality of the Communist threat, including its domestic conspiratorial agents, is a necessary condition; a sociological analysis, however, also stresses the existence of a *garrison society* and its psychological concomitants.

A garrison society is not an all-out war. It need hardly be totalitarian, nor need military considerations dominate every facet of social life. (The image of Sparta or Orwell's 1984 is, of course, merely the extreme picture, the end product of this process, which is approximated today only in totalitarian societies.) The concept merely denotes a social order permanently prepared for *external conflict*—mili-

tarily, economically, in the conduct of foreign policy, in the psychological sets of the population. With all the periodic variations, the United States has, for the past decade, been such a society.

The garrison society encourages quasi-military canons throughout the social structure. The specific historical situation, of course, magnifies this tendency, for the Cold War enemy has a long record of utilizing domestic conspiratorial agents throughout the world, capped by revelations of espionage in this country. The dictates of national security—a basically military problem—permeate the entire government structure, even those aspects not directly related to national defense or the conduct of foreign policy. (Recent distinctions, in Supreme Court decisions, between "sensitive" and "non-sensitive" government agencies are among the many official limitations on the application of these canons. Yet, the tendency to apply them throughout the social structure, both in and out of government, has hardly disappeared.) Even Chief Justice Warren had to be "cleared" before the Senate ratified his nomination. Since the Cold War is, presumably, so ideological, security and loyalty questions can determine the hiring or firing of a television actor. (The much discussed "blacklists," with their very loose criteria for inclusion, are the end product of this process.) In fact, much of the population has deemphasized the foreign military threat and has been concerned only with the ideological danger. According to Samuel Stouffer's polls of national opinion (*Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*), three times as many Americans feared Communist "conversion and spread of ideas" as feared either "sabotage" or "espionage," at a time when the domestic Communist Party has dwindled to insignificance from its former considerable influence.

The garrison atmosphere has thus given security-loyalty questions a tremendous political pertinence, establishing the rock-bottom basis for the appeal of a McCarthy. But, another feature of the Cold War setting helps build a receptive audience for the radical right. The Cold War appears to be in a perpetual impasse. Despite the outlays in blood and money, it has in no sense been won. This, rather than status insecurity from rapid mobility, is the agonizing frustration of our times. This is why so many have been prodded to what Samuel Lubell in *Revolt of the Moderates* calls the "politics of revenge," with close-by domestic agents and dupes supplying more available targets than the far-off foreign enemy. Solutions are sought, not in the complex and apparently unproductive area of international politics, but in the seemingly simple and direct action of exposure and removal.

Naturally, any public figure who carries on this work will be applauded. And the applause is heaviest among those who were proponents of "isolationism" in the early 1940's, who regard foreign policy since then as not only a mistake but a mysterious conspiracy, who are most prone to accept vengeful politics. As Lubell insists, they are most likely to be found in specific ethnic groups—particularly German and Irish—with this type of recent political history (of which insecurity from too rapid mobility may be a minor element). For these people, McCarthy has been, essentially, a replica of a well-known protagonist in popular culture—the detective. They regard him less as a political figure than a type of "private eye" dedicated to the patriotic task of ferreting out hidden Communists and their allies.

But, detectives do not lead a movement. One does not strive to emulate them or assist with anything but information. There is no commitment

to further involvement. Most of the radical right audience is, as demonstrated in practice, unwilling to take a more active role, for *few are sufficiently irritated to do more*. This suggests the final relevant feature of the Cold War setting. Cold War frustrations, however persistent, have dominated the thinking of very few people.

In this period of Cold-War prosperity and absence of all-out war, realizable personal careers and available consumption goods are much more immediate to most Americans. In Stouffer's study, when people were asked about their "worries," less than 10% mentioned world problems and only 1% mentioned the domestic communist threat. Except for those in combat in Korea, even military service is generally accepted as an annoying but regular part of the life process. (In a recent study by Edward Suchman, Robin Williams, Jr. and Rose Golden in the June 1953 issue of the *American Sociological Review*, of some three thousand male students in eleven universities, only about a fourth expressed any "concern" about impending military service.) The Cold War, as long as it remains "cold," limits, at the same time it stimulates, the radical right appeal. When the conflict becomes relatively hot, as during the Korean War, the radical right spokesmen do have considerable influence on public opinion, as will be discussed. But, even then, few feel sufficiently distressed to create a mobilizeable movement.

Two other considerations militate against the large radical right audience becoming a mass movement. First of all, despite the fears of humanists and "new Conservatives," this is not the era of mass movements in the United States. As far as national politics is concerned, the current mode is better characterized by terms like "apathy," "passivity," and

"privatization" than by "joining." (This implies nothing about "joining" in general, or local community activity, or organized "packaged sociability." [Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*.] We are concerned only with active, avid, organized involvement in national political affairs.) The mass media spectator is much more conspicuous than the political rally enthusiast — whatever the political tendency examined.

Actually the radical right audience may be less prone to mass political action than other political publics, particularly that of the "liberal left." The writer and *The New American Right* contributors agree that much of this audience is concentrated in "newly arrived" ethnic groups, even if we differ on our explanations. Their "acceptance" has been accompanied by an occupational ascent into structured bureaucracies and a residential move into "homogenized" new suburbs. Both settings encourage an ordered existence, not the turbulence of political protest. (For the effect of the "bureaucratic life-style" on political participation, see C. Wright Mills, *White Collar*. Harry Henderson, "The Mass-Produced Suburbs," *Harper's* Nov. 1953, and William H. Whyte, Jr. "The Outgoing Life," *Fortune* July 1953, have provided accounts of the new suburbs.) One seeks to identify with the respectable top layers of bureaucratic hierarchies; one has little taste for struggle against the prestigious and powerful. To be very concrete, many well-established descendants of Irish or German immigrants may have been on McCarthy's side during his censure fight, as a result of their ethnic political tradition; but, their style of life discouraged active participation in a public campaign against the aides of Eisenhower — the symbol of respectable power.

Finally, the radical right politicians

have no political program that can motivate their audience against the "sophisticated conservatism" of the Republican leadership and the "administrative liberalism" of the Democratic leadership. This audience may continue its indignation and search for targets. Much of it disagrees with what it defines as the continuing "softness towards Communism" of both party leaderships.

But, what can be offered to sway them from congenial respectability and comfortable passivity? Coloring the politics of indignation with *laissez faire* symbols hardly adds to their excitability potential; Manchester liberalism will not spur mass action in the era of the welfare state, forty billion dollar budgets, farmer subsidies, and immense bureaucracies. The plea for "isolationism" loses its evocative power when accompanied by a call for more aid to Nationalist China, or when opposition to the bi-partisan foreign policy can be summed up as a greater reliance on strategic weapons and less on foot soldiers. Lacking a political orientation that can stir, the radical right political bond does not go beyond anger and demand for exposure. That is why McCarthy, whose ideas on most political issues are unknown, is such a fitting exponent of this political mood. The radical right may thus have considerable influence in specific elections, within some opinion formation agencies, but it is incapable of leading a movement.

Although the radical right audience is not and is not likely to be a mass movement, it is more than a clique for radical right politicians or a mere index of some prevalent political attitudes. It does have its effect on political affairs. Such a widespread inclination towards an overemphasis on security and loyalty questions, with a punitive approach towards dissenters, not only prods but *legitimizes* the work of those politicians,

in and out of office, who propound such politics. Even passive agreement creates a popular base, however immobile.

More importantly, the radical right audience may become a meaningful entity in elections. The voters who are united by vengeful politics, even if they do not constitute a mobilizable bloc, can express their common sentiments in their vote choices. Throughout the Korean War period, their vote choices tended to be colored by the generalized feeling of indignation, according to Lubell. The direct intervention of the radical right spokesmen was not a necessary ingredient for this type of electoral behaviour, but their activity made it more pervasive. This was particularly evident in some specific instances. A possible example was the Maryland senatorial election of 1950, when McCarthy utilized his anti-Communist reputation to defeat his then leading senatorial opponent, conservative Democratic Senator Millard Tydings. A negative example, occurring as a lingering effect of the Korean War period, was the near defeat of Republican Senator Clifford Case in New Jersey in 1954 because of his alienation of McCarthy supporters. (Lubell's *Revolt of the Moderates*.)

However, the significance of this type of radical right electoral mandate should not be exaggerated. Since it can not lead to a movement, it is in no sense the harbinger of a significant third party development or of any all-out inner party struggle against the Republican or Democratic leadership.

In fact, the independent electoral role of the radical right has probably dissipated with the easing of the Cold War after the Korean Armistice. Even though the 1956 election occurred during a renewal of international tensions, the radical right politicians had little part in the Eisenhower landslide.

McCarthyism reached its apex when the Cold War became comparatively "hot" during the years 1950 to 1953. During the recent "colder" period, it has, in a sense, become a "wasm." The politics of revenge has lost much of its momentum, at least for the time being. Security and loyalty canons have become, by and large, less extensive and less bizarre. Radical right politicians have backed away from the center of the national political rostrum.

But as long as the Cold War against Russia, with its international conspiratorial apparatus, remains at impasse, the radical right *will have a bearing*. The size of its audience and the degree of responsiveness, as manifested above all in elections, will vary with the easing or worsening of the international situation. Nevertheless, unless there are dramatic and unforeseen developments internationally and/or domestically, the radical right audience will probably never become a mobilized mass movement.

WILLIAM SPINRAD

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Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950. By Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1956. 421 pp. \$6.50.

Researchers in demography, city and regional planning, urban economics, and in many other fields will have to add another book to their fingertip reference shelf. The book under review, the newest addition to the Census Monograph Series, achieves most favorably the expectations that must have been held by the Social Science Research Council in planning this series of studies. The SSRC was farsighted enough to spend research dollars more recklessly than the Bureau of the Census is able or willing to do. The expenditure of these more marginal dollars would

appear to be substantially exceeded by the value that this research will contribute to the general statistical welfare.

Duncan and Reiss have systematically organized a substantial portion of the 1950 census statistics relating to cities, towns, and villages, and broadly tested a number of important hypotheses involving community relationships. This book constitutes an intensive investigation of the structural interrelationships that lie behind the lists of census data, usually alphabetically arranged, on standard metropolitan areas, urbanized areas, independent cities, central cities and suburbs, urban places, urban fringes, villages, and rural nonfarm areas. What is revealed is a set of structural dimensions that undergird the statistical aggregates that are so glibly quoted by those who are unaware of the importance of the community variable.

This community variable is actually a set of variables. Because of the complexity of these variables, a selection of the critical ones requires an insight into the details of community functions and data reflecting these activities. Such expertise can only be gained by long exposure to analytical problems, and by successful execution of research on these problems. For the purpose of discriminating most effectively among the dependent variables, Duncan and Reiss have framed the inquiry around four major factors. These are: (1) size of community; (2) spatial organization of communities; (3) community growth and decline; and (4) functional specialization.

The size of community as a discriminating variable is exhaustively examined. Before launching into the relationship between community size and the several dependent variables, a terse but intensive section on concepts and requirements for putting

communities on a scale by size is outlined. A basic 11-class breakdown by size of place is established, ranging from urbanized areas over 3,000,000 in population down through independent cities, villages, and rural nonfarm and farm categories. Of some novelty in this context is the use of the urbanized area concept instead of the SMA, and the inclusion of the rarely analyzed categories of villages in size classes below 2,500. Twenty-five variables analyzed along the scale by size of place display a variety of patterns. Some variables, such as the fertility ratio, and the per cent of white females married, show a monotonically increasing index with decreasing size of place. Other variables, such as the per cent of population 65 and over, and in-migrants from farms, display a regularly increasing pattern among urban places, but do not vary consistently among villages and in the rural open country. Still another pattern is the monotonically decreasing trend of median school years completed and of median income of persons with decreasing size of place. Finally, there are some patterns with discontinuities and reversals of trend, as, for example, the per cent in the same house as in 1949, which is highest for the largest urbanized areas, declines to independent urban places of 25,000 or more, and then increases with declining size in the villages and in the rural nonfarm category. These patterns are suggestive of stimulating hypotheses to the reader. Among the many significant conclusions is the observation that the relationship between many of the characteristics and size of place is semi-logarithmic: proportionate changes in size of place are associated with equal absolute changes in the other variable.

The second major section of the monograph deals with the spatial organization of communities. In addition to the expected emphasis on

suburbs, there is a further category of "urban fringe," defined as the non-suburban population of the territory in urbanized areas outside central cities. Because the census data do not break themselves into this three tier pattern, the significance of the concept is tested for a special pilot study of Chicago. The results strongly suggest that significant differences exist not only between central city and suburbs, but also between suburban and urban fringe areas. This analysis is supplemented by a chapter analyzing the responses discernible in the rural population to the dominating characteristic of the urban center. Here, patterns of rural adjustment to the nearby degree of urbanization are clearly apparent.

The third part of the book investigates the association of population growth and stagnation with the census variables. In this section, to make the contrasts more vivid, only places displaying the extremes of growth or of decline were compared, with substantial numbers of places in the middle ranges omitted from the analysis. This chapter has some surprises for those cities sponsoring industrial development programs aimed at obtaining new manufacturing establishments. Rapidly growing places are characterized by higher proportions of white collar jobs, by higher than median schooling completed, and greater incidence of workers in commerce, government, and entertainment. Declining urban places have higher proportions of manual workers and extremely high percentages of manufacturing employment.

Part Four is initiated with an exploration of the problem of classifying cities by functional specialization. Recognizing both the inadequacies of existing classification systems and the special and varied purposes that such classifications may serve, the authors develop a new basis

of classification. This classification is framed around an interrelated set of variables rather than being unidimensional. Based on the varying degrees of complementarity of wholesale and retail trade in urban places and the reaction of trade specialization to differing degrees of manufacturing specialization, a major classification is developed. In addition, classifications are established for "minor" types of functional specialization which include specialization in higher education, public administration, transportation, military, and entertainment and recreation. This classification is applied to SMA's and urban places by metropolitan status and size. One characteristic is the occurrence of overlap: the categories not being mutually exclusive, a possibility of joint classification exists. Having developed this novel and comprehensive basis of functional classification, Duncan and Reiss proceed to test the scheme in a fashion similar to their previous procedures. The geographical concentration of manufacturing communities in the Northeast and North Central Regions is documented. Manufacturing communities generate less mobility than nonmanufacturing places. Male labor force participation and average incomes are higher in manufacturing communities, although educational attainment and the proportion of white collar workers are lower.

Trade centers contract with manufacturing cities, with the major discriminating variable being the degree of specialization in retail trade. The detailed characteristics of cities with minor types of specialization are also analyzed in great detail. Of special interest are the factors that are important in military centers; i.e. cities that serve as host community to a military installation.

A final chapter on characteristics of high and low income communities

confirms many observed relationships and presents a few unexpected ones. In high income communities, there are more married men, more persons 21 years of age and older, higher sex ratios, more stability and less mobility, slower overall growth, higher retail sales per capita, and more employment opportunities. Low income communities have high proportions of manufacturing employment. Specialization in education is associated with low income places, as is the occurrence of higher proportions of private household workers, service workers, and manual laborers.

Among the most significant laudatory generalizations that should be made are the following:

1. There is a substantial portion of each part of the monograph devoted to the development of concepts and hypotheses. This material is noteworthy not only for its quality and for its summarization of current research; its presence in a census type publication also is an innovation. The dearth of analytical background that characterizes much of the governmental statistical product is not present in this publication.

2. The degree of statistical sophistication that is apparent sets a standard that all researchers would do well to emulate. Although the reader is in no sense overburdened with tests, probabilities, and qualifications related to differences that are not significant, they are there and in the critical places. A secure sense that the authors interpret data in a probabilistic fashion is obtained and applies even in those sections where complexity of analysis makes statistical tests impossible or exceedingly costly. At a more elementary level the tables and charts exhibit novelty of layout but still have maximum effect in presenting their points.

3. The integrated use of the whole gamut of community concepts from SMA's, urbanized areas, central cities,

suburbs, urban fringes, down to small urban places and small villages represents the documentation of an important dimension, frequently recognized but rarely integrated into analytical apparatus. Not only does this volume call attention to this neglected variable; it also provides methodology and analysis that will facilitate its use.

There are several questions which the study stimulates. It is understandable that the global coverage in the monograph could not be extended to interplanetary space. Consequently, these questions are raised not in criticism but as suggestions for extending the boundaries of the research that is incorporated in the volume at hand. First of all, although the geographical location of the communities are frequently mentioned, and data are occasionally broken down in a four-region classification, the pinning down of the influence of broad cultural regions on community characteristics is a question left unanswered. Can we "explain" the character of communities by a proper aggregation of variables, or is there an unexplained residual that can only be attributed to "regional" influences?

Secondly, the disaggregation of functional specializations into minor types suggests a parallel treatment of manufacturing. This catchall industrial category could be disaggregated into more homogeneous subgroups, for which logical bases of analysis exist. A treatment similar to the analysis of the components of trade seems to be called for.

The use of this volume as a research source and as an aid to methodological finesse offers a wide range of possibilities. Individuals will extract out of the varied analyses contained in the monograph much that will fit into their own areas of interest. For example, characteristics of nonwhites in communities of differing sizes, and their associated meas-

ures of dissimilarity provide bases for the evaluation of current policy issues in the fields of education and housing. Similarly, in the area of labor force composition, industrial sociologists and labor economists will find new regularities among occupations and industries when they are disentangled in the community dimension. City planners can use the structural relationships exhibited by the various components of the community to project intensive or extensive expansion. Duncan and Reiss will harvest a fully-deserved crop of footnotes and citations from this work in a wide variety of disciplines in the immediate future.

WILLIAM GOLDNER

Bowling Green State University

Industrial Society: The Emergence of the Human Problems of Automation. By Georges Friedmann. Edited and with an Introduction by Harold L. Sheppard. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955. 436 pp. \$6.00.

When one of our brethren who can do something more with a foreign language than pass a Ph.D. reading examination in it emerges triumphant from the tedious task of translating another scholar's work, it is customary in reviewing the volume to bow stiffly in the direction of the middleman with a sentence like "Professor Priapus has performed a real service to the field." The institutionalizing of this credit line, like the overworking of the tribute that "Our speaker tonight is a man who needs no introduction," has made it virtually impossible to emphasize an exciting and important occurrence. Credit for this translation of Friedmann's *Problèmes Humains du Machinisme Industriel* goes to John A. Spaulding and to Mary and Bob Bottomore; Harold L. Sheppard edited

the volume. All four deserve the thanks of sociologists who interest themselves in industrial institutions and the sub-cultures arising from the social organization of mass production.

This volume is the product of an intelligent, literate, synthesizing mind, and it is a pleasure to read. Friedmann has a marvelous grasp of the research data of physiology, psychology, sociology, and engineering as they pertain to industrial problems, but he seldom lets this wealth of detail seduce him away from the job of generalizing, of seeking principles.

Let us ignore the proprieties enough to allow the editor to review his own book, since the first sentence of his Introduction expresses my impression of what this work has to offer:

All too briefly put, the chief value of Georges Friedmann's *Industrial Society* is based on at least three of its contributions: (1) its intensive reporting of research in Europe not previously available to English-speaking students; (2) its truly interdisciplinary approach, presenting rich factual material on nearly every aspect of industrial work, and in an organized fashion; (3) its humanistic, or as I prefer to say, its 'liberal arts' emphasis (p. 9).

"The 'Human Factor,'" as Part One is entitled, evaluates the work of F. W. Taylor, the "Father of Scientific Management." It also deals with the physiology of work and discusses such environmental factors as noise, light, temperature, and ventilation. One chapter is devoted to fatigue, another to accidents. The specific treatment of automation suggested by the title occurs in Part Two, "The Limits of the 'Human Factor.'" The assembly-line is analyzed and problems of the natural rhythm of work and of monotony are presented. Two chapters at the end of this section are devoted to occupational skills and occupational culture. The term "occupation" is misleadingly broad; here,

as throughout the book, Friedmann is concerned primarily with routine, low-skilled manual labor. Part Three, "Towards a Social Psychology of the Factory," contains the materials of most value to the American social scientist. He is presented first with the data probably best known to industrial psychologists and industrial sociologists in the United States: the Hawthorne studies. Given the extensive re-analyses of these data in the past couple of decades, it is hardly surprising that little new is to be found here. But the summary of the investigations at Western Electric is followed by fascinating accounts of European research.

A comparison with the American industrial situation is drawn from the Bar'a enterprise in Moravia. This shoe works not only ran its own tannery, but manufactured shoe blacking, cardboard for shoe boxes, and fabrics for shoe lining, and even branched out from rubber products related to the manufacture of shoes into other widely used rubber goods, such as tires and toy balloons. This Czech firm achieved a high degree of social integration by sub-dividing an enormous industrial organization into numerous small groups which were given a maximum of autonomy and responsibility. They attempted to treat each team which performed a single operation as if that team were an individual person in a free economy. There were bonuses and fines. The team was responsible for its manufactures; it could gain, but it could also lose. The Bar'a story is followed by descriptions of the attempts of two French companies to improve worker-management relations. Of interest here is the proportional wages movement, a profit-sharing arrangement aimed at increasing the worker's psychological integration with the business through a financial incentive. This section is concluded with a critique of the human relations

movement in industry, and with the author's recommendations for meeting technological change.

The entire book is oriented too much toward the individual and too little toward the group to suit my theoretic orientation, and I suspect that most sociologists will find this true: there is little attention to the relationship of man to man. But this criticism stems from the book's main strength: it is an impressive stride across disciplinary boundaries to bring together what is known about the relationship of men to machines.

RAYMOND W. MACK

Northwestern University

The Functions of Social Conflict.

By Lewis A. Coser. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956. 181 pp. \$3.50.

This little book is "an effort to clarify the concept of social conflict . . ." It "deals mainly with a number of basic propositions which have been distilled from theories of social conflict, in particular from the theories of Georg Simmel" (pp. 7, 8). The method of exposition consists of selected short quotations from Simmel, each followed by a somewhat exhaustive discussion of the implications of the quotation. There are eight chapters in the course of which sixteen "propositions" are formulated, some those of Simmel, some from other theorists and some Coser's own. A recurrent theme, which in this reviewer's opinion is much belabored, is that social conflict, rather than being only dysfunctional and disruptive, serves important positive functions, such as facilitating group preservation by counteracting the ameliorative tendencies of what Coser calls the "safety valve" institutions. Coser feels that this emphasis is warranted in order to "correct a balance of an-

alysis which has been tilted in the other direction." (p. 8)

Coser's "working definition" holds that social conflict should be "taken to mean a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals." (p. 8) While existing definitions of the concept are indeed varied, and surely Coser's is as "good" as any other, it should be pointed out that Coser's formulation includes much rivalrous interaction which sociologists ever since Park and Burgess' classic formulation have been terming "competition." This break with convention, while easy to justify, results in a need for the reader to be ever alerted to the unfamiliar formulation. The various "propositions" offered by Coser, then, may be construed to refer to rivalrous interaction generally, i.e. to conflict as conventionally conceived plus much of what has been regarded as "competition."

Assuredly any analyst is entitled to his own values, express or implied, and it is probably true that sociologists have tended to emphasize the disruptive rather than the positive influences which result from conflict. Whether, however, Coser's effort to "correct the balance" will change these professional folkways can only be guessed. This is, though, a provocative, clearly written book on an important subject, a welcome antidote to the cumbersome empiricism directed at matters of characteristically trivial import which is currently so fashionable.

JOHN F. CUBER

Ohio State University

Personality in a Communal Society.

By Bert Kaplan and Thomas F. A. Plaut. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Publications, 1956. xi, 116 pp. Cloth \$3.25; paper \$2.50.

This interesting monograph complements the study of the Hutterites that Eaton and Weil reported in *Culture and Mental Disorders*. The Eaton and Weil volume concentrated primarily on the incidence and prevalence of mental illness among the Hutterites and a comparison of these rates with those of other groups. Kaplan and Plaut focus their volume on a number of personality variables cogent to mental health and the relationship of these variable to the cultural pattern that exists among the Hutterites.

The writers have chosen to concentrate their study on ten areas of personality dynamics which they feel contributes to the presence or absence of mental health: guilt, fear and anxiety, love and sex, aggression, competition, self-esteem, dependence and autonomy, deviance, belongingness-isolation, and acquisitiveness-possessiveness. They have employed two test instruments to study the personality structure of the Hutterites, the Murray Thematic Apperception Test and an adaptation of the Stein Sentence Completion Test.

The reader has a generally favorable reaction to this monograph but a number of specific critical observations can be made of this study and the way in which it has been reported.

One is never told how large a sample the study represents. Since 97 TAT's and 125 SCT's were given, many dually so, it is legitimate to assume that a minimum of 125 persons were sampled, although the actual figure is probably somewhat above this.

The writers recognize that a major area of criticism lies in the way they selected their sample. It was desired to have a random sample of normal Hutterites but, for various reasons, approximately half of the sample was randomly selected and half was not. The writers report that

the latter half probably does not reflect any systematic biases. One may ask how they know this and if, perchance, they did a comparative analysis of the two halves of the sample, why this was not reported.

Kaplan and Plaut base a good part of their findings on the sentence completion test which they modified for the Hutterites. Since openings of the SCT often stimulate certain kinds of responses, it would have been very worthwhile to have some non-Hutterite data available for this form of test. For example, the authors report that much general guilt is seen on the sentence completion test. Unless the reader knows something more about the general effect of the openings, it is not valid to assume that this is a Hutterite characteristic.

This reader, too, had some hesitations about the way in which the writers interpreted their data. For example, on the SCT, they find sexuality a problem in 31% of the women and 22% of the men. The authors then conclude: "These findings confirm a strong personal impression of all the investigators that

heterosexual relationships are particularly sound among the Hutterites" (p. 84). Based on the SCT, however, one may point out that a fairly substantial portion of the Hutterite population does not fit this picture.

While the reviewer has singled out some specific criticisms, these should not detract from the value of the volume; it is well worth reading. Kaplan and Plaut write well and have some very fruitful ideas on the relationships that exist between personality and cultural variables. Among the Hutterites, where so much conformity seems to exist on the social level, they find much less harmony on the personality level. Much of what they have written may well result in a rethinking of many of our mental health concepts. This monograph should serve to stimulate the development of hypotheses in the area of culture and personality as they relate to mental health and it provides a definite contribution to the growing field of social psychiatry.

NATHANIEL H. SIEGAL

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Listing of a publication below does not preclude its being reviewed in a subsequent issue of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**:

Alexander, Franz, and Hugo Staub. *The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public*. (Revised Edition). Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 239 pp. \$4.00.

Belkin, Samuel. *Essays in Traditional Jewish Thought*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 191 pp. \$3.50.

Bellah, Robert N. *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan*. Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. ix, 249 pp. \$5.00.

- Beutel, Frederick K. *Some Potentialities of Experimental Jurisprudence as a New Branch of Social Science*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1957. xvi, 440 pp. \$6.00.
- Burn, Michael. *Mr. Lyward's Answer*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. 288 pp. \$3.95.
- Cherry, Colin. *On Human Communication*. New York: John Wiley & Sons and Technology Press, 1957. xiv, 333 pp. \$6.75.
- Chirovsky, Nicholas L. Fr. *The Economic Factors in the Growth of Russia*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. xv, 178 pp. \$3.75.
- Duncan, Otis Dudley and Beverly Duncan. *The Negro Population of Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. xxiv, 367 pp. \$6.00.
- Falk, Minna R. *The History of Germany*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. x, 438 pp. \$6.00.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. *Black Bourgeoisie*. Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 264 pp. \$4.00.
- Giles, Harry. *Education and Human Motivation*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 108 pp. \$3.00.
- Glick, Paul. *American Families*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. xiv, 240 pp. \$6.00.
- Guins, George C. *Communism on the Decline*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. ix, 287 pp. \$7.50.
- Handlin, Oscar. *Race and Nationality in American Life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1957. 300 pp. \$4.00.
- Kahl, Joseph. *The American Class Structure*. Rinehart & Co., 1957. xviii, 310 pp. \$4.50.
- Kohn, Jacob. *The Moral Life of Man*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. x, 252 pp. \$3.75.
- Komarovsky, Mirra (Editor). *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*. Glencoe: The Free Press and Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 440 pp. \$6.00.
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- Landau, M. C. *Women of Forty*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. 49 pp. \$2.50.
- Nadel, S. F. *The Theory of Social Structure*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. 159 pp.
- National Conference of Social Work. *The Social Work Forum*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. xiii, 273 pp. \$5.00.
- Pavlov, I. P. *Experimental Psychology and Other Essays*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 653 pp. \$7.50.
- Pierhal, Jean. *Albert Schweitzer: The Story of His Life*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 160 pp. \$3.00.
- Rosenberg, Bernard and David M. White. *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*. Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 561 pp. \$6.50.
- The Royal Naval Medical School. *Notes on Atomic Energy for Medical Officers*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. v, 169 pp. \$4.75.
- Shapiro, Harry L. *Aspects of Culture*. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. 147 pp. \$2.75.
- Simon, Herbert A. *Models of Man: Social and Rational*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. xiv, 287 pp. \$5.00.
- Spinoza, Baruch. *The Road to Inner Freedom*. Edited by Dagobert Runes. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 215 pp. \$3.00.
- Stacey, Chalmers and Manfred DeMartino (Editors). *Counseling and Psychotherapy with the Mentally Retarded*. Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 478 pp. \$7.50.
- Wilson, Ruth D. *Here Is Haiti*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 204 pp. \$3.50.
- Winnick, Louis. *American Housing and Its Use*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1957. xiv, 143 pp. \$5.50.
- Wolfenstein, Martha. *Disaster: A Psychological Essay*. Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. 231 pp. \$4.00.
- Wormhoudt, Arthur. *Hamlet's Mouse Trap*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. 221 pp. \$3.50.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION

COMMENTS ON THE EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF LEOPOLD von WIESE

To the Editor:

Toward the end of 1956, the eightieth birthday of Leopold von Wiese was celebrated in Cologne by a large number of his colleagues, students, and other social scientists, lawyers, etc. It would seem to me appropriate if your journal took some notice of this event, more especially as it was also commemorated by a number of special articles in the *Kolner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozial-Psychologie*, Volume 8, Number 4, 1956.

The interesting thing about the articles, and the birthday addresses as well, is the stress on Wiese's roles as other than the one for which he is best known; namely, that of an outstanding sociological theorist. Among the other roles stressed were those of: (1) rebel against traditional upbringing and training along military lines; (2) field worker among and sympathetic interpreter of a little-known pariah group in Ceylon; (3) outspoken opponent, at considerable risk to his career, of Germany's aims in World War I; (4) advocate of women's rights while at the same time a friendly critic of certain aspects of feminism; (5) zealous champion of sociology in an academic situation where the task of winning a place for it might have seemed insuperable; (6) exponent of free-enterprise economic theory at times when State socialism on the one hand and "proletarian socialism" on the other hand had firmly entrenched positions; (7) upholder of humanitarian values during a period when these were viewed as weakly sentimental in many circles; (8) discreet but persistent opponent of extreme nationalism in university circles; and (9) after the Nazi seiz-

ure of power, courageous defender of doctrines fundamentally differing from the dominant racial ideology.

Of particular interest, perhaps, are points 1, 2 and 9; these we can now consider in more detail.

Wiese's family background was that of the minor nobility. His father was a commissioned officer of intermediate rank, and the young Wiese, his only son, was reared in the paternal tradition. Undergoing training, very early in life, in a preparatory school designed to produce members of the officers' corps, he rejected, in all essentials, the career planned for him before his father's death, and made a clean break shortly thereafter. This was a very serious decision for a young German in his middle teens, for it was for some time doubtful as to how he would be able to secure the training for any other career. Fortunately, he was academically gifted, and made his way rapidly. Although trained as an economist, he soon became interested in sociology, and his 1906 doctoral dissertation was a searching critique of Herbert Spencer's encyclopedic sociological system. The basis for the critique was essentially Wiese's antipathy to sociology as an encyclopedic doctrine; instead, he espoused the conception of sociology as a systematic-empirical discipline, co-ordinate with but not superior to other specialized social-scientific approaches. He was undoubtedly influenced by predecessors, notably Toennies and Simmel; nevertheless, he was far from being a mere imitator.

A decisive turn in his interests occurred when, as an investigator for the metallurgical firm headed by Rob-

ert Merton of Frankfort, he spent nearly two years in India and Ceylon. It was at this time that he undertook a study of the Rohdias, an outcaste group of Ceylonese. His results, however, were not published in sociological or other professional journals, nor even in a monograph; instead, he chose to write a novel entitled *Nava, The Story of an Indian Love Affair*. Eyebrows were raised when the book appeared, for it seemed to betray undue familiarity of many of the more intimate aspects of outcaste life, but Wiese never feared unconventionality.

The rejection of rigid discipline and the interest in other peoples just described may account, in some measure, for his readiness to denounce Nazi racial conceptions. This was not done merely in private. Such

opposition was widespread and not especially risky. Instead, he published, nearly a year after Hitler grasped the reins of government, a second edition of his general sociological treatise that concluded with a passage that could have lead straight to concentration camp if the Nazi censors had given it appropriate attention.

This letter, then, is directed to you because of the writer's conviction that this journal might well join in the commemorating of a major milestone in the life of a man who, although known chiefly as a theorist, never ignored social problems.

Sincerely yours,

Howard Becker
Professor of Sociology
University of Wisconsin

REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS HELD IN DETROIT, SEPTEMBER 6-9, 1956

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. 4, NO. 3)

Report of the Committee on War and Peace, Bruce L. Melvin, Temporary Chairman.

The Committee on War and Peace of the Society for the Study of Social Problems submits the following report:

The Committee on War and Peace was organized during the academic year, 1955-1956, on the basis of interest manifested by a few members of the Society for the Study of Social Problems through a questionnaire circulated by Dr. Alfred McClung Lee. The definitive purpose and function of the Committee were left for the members to delineate clearly. On the basis of correspondence and meetings of two members of the Committee with the Chairman at Detroit a few conclusions have been reached. Among the most important conclusion and one upon which the work of the Committee it is proposed proceed is that modern wars between nations emerge from the cultural conditions within nations and the lack of adequate understanding of the people on one country by the people of another country.

In accordance with this conclusion, which may be accepted as hypothesis from which to work, the following subjects are under considerations.

1. Historical and modern theories justifying war.
2. Pacific practices and conceptions of ways to peace.
3. Real dangers to humanity of modern wars.
4. Nationalism vs. humanitarian forces in selected countries.
5. Agency activities designed to effect reciprocal understandings among peoples.
6. Organized aggressive agencies vs. organized humanitarian forces among people within nations.
7. Relative hysterical susceptibility of various people to demagogic propaganda and leadership.
8. War vs. peace in the value systems of peoples.
9. Whom war and/or peace serve.
10. Aggressive war as a projection of internal groups stresses.

11. Social changes stimulated by war vs. those effected in times of peace.
12. Democracy and peace and/or militarism.
13. Paternalism and peace and/or militarism.
14. The United Nations' channels of influence to effect understandings of peoples about each other.
15. Popular conceptions of peoples about other peoples.

Any of these topics and others that might be added could, obviously, become the subject for a book. Rather, however, than recommend that the preparation of fifteen books, the number of topics listed, be undertaken, it is suggested that a short-term and a long-term approach to the general subject of *war and peace* be furthered. The short-term project may consist of a book of readings, and writing specifically prepared for the volume supplemented by pertinent bibliographies, clustered around the above topics, though these are subject to changes, deletions and additions as occasion and experience may demand.

The long-term project should be one of research and the preparation of pertinent articles giving the reports of findings. Already *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. xi, No. 1, *Research Approaches to the Study of War and Peace*, has provided a start for the formulation of research projects in the field.

In all the undertakings here suggested efforts to be most productive should be directed toward specific countries in order that comparisons may be made. The countries to be selected should include those involved with the United States as allies, as neutrals and as enemies in the cold war. By means of such a selection it is believed that the results could be practical for use in diplomacy and in the class rooms.

As a general subject which may be followed through for both the assembling of articles and research, *Aggression and Non-Aggression Cultural Traits of Selected Countries*, seems most probable to be used. This subject can include most of the above and at the same time get away from the hackneyed phrase, *War and Peace*.

Report of the Treasurer, Sidney H. Aronson
Financial Statement As At July 31, 1956

The Executive Committee
The Society For The Study of
Social Problems

Gentlemen:

We submit herewith the balance sheet of The Society For The Study of Social Problems (an unincorporated association) as at July 31, 1956 and a statement of income and expense for the eleven months then ended.

These interim statements have been prepared from the books and records, maintained on the basis of cash receipts and disbursements. Pursuant to the terms of our engagement, we made auditing tests and checks of the records of the Society throughout the period under review. However, since we did not verify the assets and liabilities by direct correspondence at any time during the period or at the end thereof, we are not in a position to

express an opinion on the statements taken as a whole.

The statements do not reflect the inventory of Society publications on hand as at July 31, 1956, nor do they reflect the accrual of certain expenses, amounting to \$1,316.53, applicable to the current budget year of the Society and paid during August, 1956. Effect has been given to these additional expenses in the comparative summary of estimated and budgeted expenses as set forth in Exhibit B of this report.

We shall be pleased to furnish any additional information you may desire in connection with these statements.

Respectfully submitted,

SOBA & WOLF

New York, New York
August 14, 1956

* * *

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

EXHIBIT A

BALANCE SHEET AS AT JULY 31, 1956

Assets

Cash in bank	4,222.79
	<u>\$4,222.79</u>

Liabilities and Principal

Liabilities

Fund for Helen De Roy Award	\$ 500.00
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Principal

Balance, September 1, 1956	\$1,621.87	
Excess of income over expense for the eleven months ended July 31, 1956—Exhibit B	2,100.92	3,722.79
	<u>2,100.92</u>	<u>\$4,222.79</u>

The above statement is subject to the comments contained in the foregoing letter, which is made a part hereof.

EXHIBIT B

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE FOR THE ELEVEN MONTHS ENDED JULY 31, 1956

	ACTUAL For The Eleven Months Ended July 31, 1956	Estimated Expenses Paid or Payable For The Mo. of Aug. '56	Estimated Expenses For The Year Ending August 31, 1956	BUDGET For The Yr. End- ing Aug. 31, '56
Income				
Memberships dues				
Society publication:				
Subscriptions				
Sale of reprints	\$1,272.60			
Advertising	393.50			
Total	71.50			
		1,737.60		1,300.00
Royalties (including advance royalties of \$300.00)				
Donations		1,342.89		750.00
Award — Helen De Roy		1,300.00		1,200.00
Meetings		500.00		500.00
		301.00		
Total income		\$7,744.49		\$5,750.00
Expenses				
Cost of Society publication (including business manager's expense) — current year			\$969.68	
Cost of society publication — prior year's issue ..	\$2,662.89		\$3,632.57	\$3,850.00
Cost of publication reprints	610.95		610.95	
	475.38		475.38	

Publication staff meetings	124.56	124.56	150.00
Treasurer's office expense	217.46	217.46	250.00
Secretary's office expense:			
Current year	317.20	317.20	250.00
Prior year	94.41	94.41	
Membership Committee expense	52.21	79.06	100.00
Special Problems Committee expense	35.95	35.95	100.00
Helen De Roy Award	500.00	500.00	500.00
Helen De Roy Award expense	68.86		50.00
Book advance and expense	103.50	103.50	
Meetings	307.39	352.39	
Programs		200.00	
Accounting	25.00	100.00	
Society dues	40.00	40.00	
Election expense	7.81	7.81	50.00
President's office expense			250.00
Contingency fund			
Total expense	5,643.57	\$6,960.10	\$5,550.00
Excess of income over expense for the eleven months ended July 31, 1956 — Exhibit A	\$2,100.92	\$1,316.53	

Report of Committee on Budget, Audit and Finance for 1956-57,* Henry J. Meyer, Chairman.

During the past year this Committee, in frequent contact with the Treasurer and other officers, has kept informed of the financial affairs of the Society.

The financial condition of the Society was reviewed as of March 1, 1956, May 1, 1956 and again in July in preparation for this report. A memorandum recommending a revised budget which the Executive Committee approved was submitted on May 29, 1956 and is deemed to be a part of this report.

1. Audit of Treasurer's books

A copy of the outside audit of the books of the Society authorized by this Committee and prepared by Soba and Wolf, Certified Public Accountants, has been presented to the Executive Committee. The Committee confirms the accuracy of the books.

2. Financial condition of SSSP

The Society entered the 1955-56 fiscal year as of 9/1/55 with a surplus of about \$1600 and during the year has received income almost \$1000 greater than expenditures. As the following figures indicate, income for 1956-57 may be estimated as about equal to that for the past fiscal year. It is obvious that the financial condition of the Society is good and that consideration of expanded activities for the Society during the next year is appropriate from a financial viewpoint.

Income of SSSP

	Actual income 9-1-55 - 8-31-56	Antici- pated income 9-1-56 - 8-31-57
1. Membership dues	\$2619	\$2800
2. Subscriptions to <i>Social Problems</i>	1318	1500
3. Sale of reprints from <i>Social Problems</i>	478	500
4. Advertising in <i>Social Problems</i>	72	200
5. Advances and royalties on books	1343	500
6. Registrations at meetings	301	300
7. Gifts (including Brandeis and DeRoy)	1800	2000
Total	\$7931	\$7800

*Presented by Committee chairman Henry J. Meyer to the Business Meeting and the Executive Committee and approved by both at the annual meeting of the Society held in Detroit, September 6-8, 1956.

Estimates for the coming year assume minimal growth of the Society from a financial viewpoint and are intentionally conservative. Comments are required only on several of the items:

Item 4: Only a beginning has been made in the sale of advertising by publishers in **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**. A more active effort has been planned and hence a greater income may reasonably be anticipated.

Item 5: Royalties have been received from the Rose book and an advance of \$300 on the Sussman book. Royalties on the Himelhoch and Fava book are uncertain. Our estimate allows for very moderate sales of these publications during the coming year.

Item 7: During the past year, gifts have included \$1200 from Brandeis University, \$500 for the DeRoy Award and an additional \$100 from an anonymous friend. In view of the growing prestige of the Society and its publications, we have felt justified in anticipating a slight increase in gifts during the coming year.

3. Proposed budget for 1956-57

Against an anticipated income of \$7500 for the year, the following budget of expenses is proposed and compared with actual expenditures (rounded) during the last year:

	Budgeted Expenditures for	
	9-1-55 - 8-31-56	9-1-56 - 8-31-57
1. Publication of SOCIAL PROBLEMS including expenses of Business Manager:		
a) 4 issues totaling 320 numbered pages at \$12 per page	\$3633	\$3840
b) secretarial services for editorial board		200
c) travel expenses for staff	125	150
d) cost of publication reprints	475	475
2. Expenses of Secretary's office	317	400
3. Expenses of Treasurer's office	218	400
4. Membership Committee expenses	96	100
5. SSSP standing and special committees	36	200
6. Remainder of advance on <i>Community</i> book	103	200
7. DeRoy Award and expenses	569	550
8. Expenses of meetings	352	350
9. Dues to International Sociological Assoc.	40	20

10. Accounting	100	100
11. Election expense	8	
12. Contingency fund		250

Total \$6071 \$7135

Comments are required on several items:

Item 1: The publication of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS** is the Society's largest enterprise. During the last year the journal cost approximately what is budgeted for next year. The budget anticipates manuscripts justifying an average of 80 pages per issue. The considerable work required by the editorial board in the processing of manuscripts is reflected in the provision of \$200 for secretarial services and a continuation of the travel fund approved this year by the Executive Committee.

The largest cost, of course, is for printing, binding, and distribution of the journal.

Items 2 and 3: Expenses of these two offices are not entirely separable since some supplies are ordered jointly for economy. As the Society expands, the operating costs increase for these offices which will, despite an increase proposed of approximately \$300 over last year's budget, still receive considerable subsidy from the institutions where the officers are located.

Item 5: Although the amount allocated for committees is doubled over last year, the \$200 here recommended may not be a realistic figure if the Special Problems Committees become active. This item is to be administered by the President and the Executive Committee.

The other items are self explanatory.

4. Conclusion.

If anticipated income and this proposed budget are accurate the Society may expect a further accumulation of surplus funds. In an expanding organization, it would seem wise to reappraise financial condition and operations at least once during the year and to revise the budget if necessary. If surplus funds continue to grow, it is recommended that this Committee consider appropriate investment of them.

This Committee wishes to commend the Treasurer and the other officers for their management of the business of the Society and to thank them for their co-operation with the Committee.

REPORT OF THE ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

The SSSP officers elected for the year 1957-1958 in the final ballot are:

President-Elect:

R. A. SCHERMERHORN

Vice-President:

W. F. COTTRELL

Secretary:

CAROLYN ZELENY

Treasurer:

SIDNEY ARONSON

Executive Committee:

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

HERBERT BLUMER

JESSE BERNARD

PAULINE V. YOUNG

REINHARD BENDIX

ALFRED LINDESMITH

ROSE HUM LEE

IRA DeA. REID

Editorial and Publications Committee:

ROBIN WILLIAMS

ROBERT K. MERTON

JOHN P. GILLIN

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

JOHN F. CUBER

Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication and Teaching:

HOWARD P. BECKER

WILLIAM L. KOLB

JOSEPH K. FOLSOM

MELVIN SEEMAN

PAUL OREN

Respectfully submitted,

GLAISTER A. ELMER,
Chairman

THE HELEN L. DeROY AWARD AND CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS

The deadline for submitting papers for the competition for the Helen L. DeRoy Award of \$500 has been postponed to July 10, 1957, but will not be postponed again. For further details see the announcement on the outside back cover of this issue. Members are urged to solicit manuscripts for the Award and for submission to the Journal from their colleagues and students and also to submit their own manuscripts. For details concerning appropriate subject matter and approach, see *Guide for SOCIAL PROBLEMS Authors* on page 367.

REVISED CONSTITUTION AND BY LAWS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS, AS OF APRIL, 1957

ARTICLE I.

Name

Section 1. The name of this body shall be "The Society for the Study of Social Problems."

ARTICLE II.

Objectives

Section 1. This Society shall be a non-profit body for the promotion and protection, by means decided upon by its membership, of sociological research and teaching on significant problems of social life. The Society shall especially encourage the work of young sociologists.

The Society shall stimulate the application of scientific method and theory to the study of vital social problems, encourage problem-centered social research, and foster cooperative relations among persons and organizations engaged in the application of scientific sociological findings to the formulation of social policies.

ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 1. The membership of the Society shall consist of the following classes: Active, Associate, Joint, Student, Life, Joint Life, and Emeritus.

Section 2. Only Active, Joint, Life, Joint Life, and Emeritus members shall be full members and have the right to vote in the Society's Elections and Business Meetings and to hold office in the Society.

Section 3. Persons who are members of the American Sociological Society or of another society of social scientists of similar professional standing and who have demonstrated a serious concern with or competence in research in social problems may become Active members in the Society. Persons not members of such professional societies may be accepted for Active membership by the Membership Committee when such persons have the other qualifications indicated in this section.

Section 4. Persons with an interest in the objectives of the Society, but lacking the qualifications mentioned in Section 3, may become non-voting Associate members.

Section 5. When a husband and wife are both Active members, they may become Joint members.

Section 6. Registered graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed requirements for the Ph. D. degree and who are sponsored by an Active member of the Society may become Active members in the Society. Undergraduate students sponsored by an Active member may become Student members.

Section 7. An Active or Associate member may become a Life member. Only those Life members qualifying as Active members shall be considered full members with the right to vote in the Society's elections and business meetings and to hold office in the Society.

Section 8. When a husband and wife are both Active members, they may become Joint Life Members.

Section 9. Any Active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously as an Active member for at least twenty years, becomes upon application an Emeritus member of the Society.

Section 10. The annual dues for members, payable in advance, shall be: Active and Associate, five dollars; Joint, six dollars; and Emeritus, none. Dues for a Life member are one hundred dollars, which may be paid in four consecutive annual installments of twenty-five dollars. Dues for Joint Life members are one hundred and twenty dollars, which may be paid in four consecutive annual installments of thirty dollars.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-Elect, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. All officers shall be elected by the membership in the manner prescribed below (Article V, Section 9, and Article VII).

Section 2. Terms of office: The President-Elect shall serve as such for one year and then shall succeed to the Presidency for a one-year term. The Vice-President shall also have a term of one year. The Secretary and Treasurer shall hold office for one-year terms, but may

serve a maximum of five years through re-election. No other person may succeed himself in the same office, and no other person may hold more than one elective office in the Society, except as prescribed herein.

Section 3. The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Executive Committee (Article V, Section 4). He shall perform all duties assigned to him by the Society and the Executive Committee. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence, his duties shall devolve successively upon the Vice-President, the President-Elect, the Secretary, and the Treasurer.

Section 4. The Secretary shall record the transactions of the Society and the Executive Committee, shall work closely with the various committees as herein specified, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. The Secretary shall maintain the Society's membership list, invite persons to membership as instructed by the Executive Committee or the membership, and collect annual dues.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive and hold the funds of the Society subject to expenditures at the instruction of the Executive Committee. He or the Secretary shall establish a bank account in the name of the Society, withdrawal from which shall be upon the signature of one officer of the Society, which will ordinarily be the Treasurer.

ARTICLE V.

Committees

Section 1. The regular standing committees of the Society shall be the following: Executive; Editorial and Publications; Standards and Freedom of Teaching and Research; Membership; Program; Elections; Budget, Finance and Audit; and Permanent Organization.

Section 2. The Society or the Executive Committee may constitute whatever other temporary committees it may deem useful.

Section 3. No person may serve on any committee, or on the staff of SOCIAL PROBLEMS, who is not a member of the Society, although a nonmember may be initially appointed to a committee if he becomes a member within a month after appointment. Exceptions are permitted in the case of Special Problems Committees, since they may be interdisciplinary in personnel.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, President-Elect, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, eight members to be elected by the Society, and as ex-officio members, representatives to national and international sociological societies. This Committee shall be responsible for the business of the Society between annual meetings of the Society. All actions of the Committee shall be reported promptly to the membership by mail bulletins or through publication in a periodical, and the membership shall review at the regular annual business meeting the actions of the Executive Committee. In all matters of policy, the membership is supreme. The Executive Committee shall have the authority to fill any vacancies that occur among the officers of the Society or in the various committees.

Section 5. The Editorial and Publications Committee shall have advisory responsibilities to the Editor of SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Each year, at the annual meeting of the Society, the Committee shall review the editorial policies and procedures and shall make whatever recommendations appear desirable. Final decisions regarding the editorial policies of SOCIAL PROBLEMS shall be made by the Executive Committee and/or by the membership of the Society in vote or referendum. The Editor remains the final judge over acceptance and rejection of manuscript and over format (within the limits of his budget).

Section 6. The Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication and Teaching of five members shall be elected by the Society. From among those elected, the Executive Committee shall select a Chairman.

This Committee shall concern itself, in behalf of the Society, with the professional rights and freedom of sociologists and other social scientists in their investigation and teaching of social problems. It shall be empowered to investigate cases and to protect and strengthen the responsible professional autonomy of sociologists and other social scientists.

Section 7. The Membership Committee, including its Chairman, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall consist of as many members as appear desirable. The Committees shall make efforts toward the invitation of all qualified persons to membership. It shall be entrusted with clearing persons for membership in all classes.

Section 8. The Program Committee, including its Chairman, shall be appointed

by the Executive Committee and shall consist of three or more members. Its duties shall be to solicit from the membership at large papers to be read before the annual meeting of the Society. In this, the Committee shall be empowered to stimulate discussion of topics it deems important in furtherance of the interests of the Society.

All papers excepting only the annual Presidential address, shall be such submitted papers. They may deal with research findings, theory, or policy questions. The Program Committee shall set deadlines well in advance of each annual meeting for the submission of (a) titles, then of (b) digests, and finally of (c) completed papers.

Submitted papers may be rejected only for quite obvious lack of accord with the Society's objectives. All papers accepted shall be scheduled to be read by title, digest form (with time limitations specified), or as a whole (with time limitations specified).

Section 9. The Elections Committee, including its Chairman, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall consist of three or more members. Its duties shall be (a) to solicit nominations from the membership, (b) to conduct a primary election at which nominations shall be trimmed to not less than two candidates for each office or committee membership, and (c) to conduct the regular election. The Elections Committee itself, as a committee, shall make no nominations. It shall be guided in its decisions solely by the ballots it receives from the membership. The Elections Committee shall also conduct whatever referendums are necessary on policy and legislation. The ways in which such referendums and elections are initiated and held are outlined herein (Article VII).

Section 10. The New Projects Committee, including the chairman, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall consist of three or more members. It shall be charged with (a) the critical survey of the functioning of the Society, (b) the development of proposals for the improvement of the Society, and (c) the suggestion of new projects or directions of operation to the Society through its appropriate committees and the Society as a whole through special reports.

Section 11. The Budget, Finance and Audit Committee, including its chairman, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall consist of three or more members. It shall be charged with (a) the

preparation of the Society's budget, (b) the auditing of the Treasurer's records, with the assistance of a certified public accountant selected by the Committee, if this is deemed necessary, (c) supervising the investment of the funds of the Society.

Section 12. Special Problems Committee including their Chairman, shall be initially appointed by the Executive Committee whenever such a committee or committees appear desirable and there is a sufficient number of interested persons to carry on committee work. A Special Problems Committee shall be concerned with the development of research and theory in fields which are within the purview of the Society. No Chairman may serve for more than two successive one-year terms of office. It shall be the special responsibility of the Executive Committee to encourage the formation of Special Problems Committees. After a Special Problems Committee is once established its members may elect the committee officers. Any member of the Society may, on his own initiative, join any Special Problems Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

Meetings

Section 1. The Society shall hold at least one meeting each year, the exact time and place to be set by the Executive Committee. It shall be the aim of the Society, as a general rule, to hold such a meeting at a time and place identical with that of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society.

Section 2. Special meetings of the members of the Society shall be held at any time upon the call of the Executive Committee or upon the call of ten percent of the voting members of the Society.

Section 3. Notice of the meetings, in writing, for every annual or special meeting of the members of the Society, shall be prepared and mailed to the last known post office address of each member, not less than thirty days before such meeting, unless such notice be already included in the regular announcement of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society.

Section 4. A quorum at any meeting of the Society shall consist of not less than ten percent of the members in good standing.

Section 5. The annual business meeting of the membership shall be the principal feature of the Society's annual meetings. Sufficient time and sufficiently large

meeting hall will be provided so that the membership may review any and all appropriate aspects of the business of the Society. The annual business meeting can be superseded only by the majority vote in a mail ballot of the membership. Upon a vote of twenty-five per cent of the members at a meeting, any issue may be submitted to such a mail ballot for final approval, regardless of other action. By a simple majority, the Executive Committee may vote to submit any matter to a mail ballot.

ARTICLE VII.
Elections

Section 1. At least eight months before the date set for the annual meeting, the Elections Committee (Article V, Section 9) shall issue a call for nominations. A list of voting members in good standing shall then be made available.

Section 2. At least six months before the annual meeting, the Elections Committee shall report to all the members the names receiving nomination for a given position by at least five members. This report shall take the form of a primary ballot.

Section 3. The primary ballots shall be counted at least four months before the annual meeting. Except in cases where a candidate obtains a clear majority of the votes cast for a given office in the primary, the Elections Committee shall report to all the members the two names for each position receiving the most votes. In the case of ties, the number of nominations for a given position may be increased to three or more. This report shall take the form of an election ballot. If a primary election results in the candidacy of one person to two or more positions, he must be asked to select one position for which he chooses to run on the final ballot. If he fails to respond to such an invitation within two weeks, the chairman of the Elections Committee is required to submit the name of the person to be a candidate for only one of the positions.

Section 4. The election ballots shall be counted at least two months before the annual meeting, and the Elections Committee shall then report to all the members the names of those elected. In the case of ties, the Executive Committee shall be requested to cast the deciding votes.

Section 5. Elections shall be held for these positions each year: President-Elect, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, eight members of the Executive Committee, five members of the Editorial and Publications

Committee, and five members of the Committee on Standards and Freedom of Research, Publication, and Teaching. Election of representatives to national and international sociological societies shall be for such terms of office as are deemed appropriate by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.
Finances

Section 1. The Society shall be operated as a non-profit organization and no part of its net income shall inure to the private benefit of any individual.

Section 2. Non-payment of dues for twelve months past their due date shall be considered as equivalent to resignation from the Society.

Section 3. A budget for the ensuing fiscal year (September 1 to August 31) covering all expenditures of the Society, including the cost of publications, shall be submitted by the Budget, Finance, and Audit Committee to the Executive Committee and to the Membership for approval. Proposals for changes in the budget shall likewise be submitted to the Executive Committee by the Budget, Finance, and Audit Committee, except that small interim changes (not to exceed \$100.00 in any budget category) may be authorized by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. The budget shall be binding upon all officers of the Society.

Section 5. A bond in the amount of one thousand dollars, the cost of which is borne by the Society, shall be required of the officers or appointees handling the funds of the Society.

Section 6. The accounts of the Society shall be audited at the conclusion of each fiscal year by the Budget, Finance, and Audit Committee, with the assistance selected by the Committee, if this is deemed necessary. The report of this audit shall be published to the members of the Society.

ARTICLE IX.
Relations to Other Societies

Section 1. The Society shall affiliate itself, when appropriate, with other professional, research, and educational bodies. It shall not affiliate itself with bodies related to political parties or commercial projects.

Section 2. Regional and local groups of Society members may establish local branches upon application to the Executive Committee and approval of their plan of organization. Such recognition may be withdrawn by the Executive Committee or membership upon a vote at any time. No branch is empowered to contract

financial obligations in the name of the Society. It must be governed by this Constitution and By Laws and by other rules and regulations of the Society.

ARTICLE X

Research and Publication Program

Section 1. The Society may undertake such programs of research and publication as are specified in this Constitution and By Laws or as may hereafter be approved by the members of the Society.

Section 2. Upon the recommendation of the Committee of the Society or of a group of members, the Executive Committee shall appoint a special committee to carry out each project of research or publication that is approved by the Society and supported by the funds or prestige of the Society.

Section 3. Any member of the Society may submit a proposal for research or publication to the Editorial and Publications Committee.

Section 4. Proposals by members for Society-sponsored research or publication must be submitted by May first of the year in which it is to be acted upon. Each proposal for research or publication must contain a detailed description of the project, and such other information as the Executive Committee may prescribe.

Section 5. The Executive Committee shall recommend to the Society at the annual meeting for approval, such proposals as it deems appropriate, along with the proposed budgetary allocations, if any.

Section 6. The Executive Committee may act upon requests of individuals or groups for assistance not involving the expenditure of Society funds.

Section 7. The Executive Committee shall be the only body of the Society to authorize official statements in the name of the Society. When such statements are thought controversial, they shall first be submitted to a mail ballot authorization. All statements not authorized by mail ballot are subject to critical review after issuance by the Society's annual meeting.

Section 8. The official journal of the Society shall be **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**.

The Editor, the Book Review Editor, and the Business Manager of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS** shall be recommended by the Editorial and Publications Committee and appointed by the Executive Committee. The Editor and the Associate Editor who serves as Business Manager shall normally serve for a term of three years. They may be reappointed for only one three-year term. At or before the Annual Meeting one year prior to the expiration of the

Editor's term, the outgoing Editorial and Publications Committee shall make its recommendations to the outgoing Executive Committee and the Executive Committee shall appoint the Editor and the Business Manager who will assume office at the next annual Meeting.

The other Associate Editors, the Advisory Editors, and any other necessary editorial officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee on recommendation of the Editor. They shall be appointed for an indefinite term not to exceed the term of the Editor. No member of the Editorial staff shall be eligible for reappointment more than once.

The Editor shall be a non-voting ex-officio member of the Executive Committee and of the Editorial and Publications Committee and shall be ineligible for election to either Committee. The Editor shall submit an annual report to both Committees and to the Business Meeting of the Society.

General responsibility for financial policies relative to **SOCIAL PROBLEMS** or other publications sponsored by the Society shall rest with the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE XI.

Enactments and Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution and By Laws shall take effect January 1, 1952 upon approval of the Executive Committee then existing, as elected at the Chicago 1951 organization meeting. It shall then be sent to all members of record.

Section 2. The Society, by mail vote of the members, may adopt such changes in this Constitution and By Laws as it deems necessary. The approval of two-thirds of the members voting shall be required for amendment. Sixty days after date of mailing ballots, balloting shall be closed and the votes counted by the Elections Committee, which shall certify the results to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall then have the report of the Elections Committee made public to the membership. If an amendment is carried, it shall then be in effect.

Section 3. Amendments may be proposed by any member or committee of the Society. They shall be submitted to the membership if they have the approval of any standing committee or of twenty-five members of the Society.

Section 4. When proposed amendments are not self-explanatory in nature, interpretations of them from different viewpoints shall be obtained by the Elections Committee and transmitted with the proposed amendment.

SSSP BOOKS OF READINGS

The Society has thus far sponsored three books of readings:

1. **Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach.** Edited by Arnold M. Rose. New York: Norton, 1955. xvi, 626 pp. \$4.90.

2. **Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports.** Edited by Jerome Himmelhoch and Sylvia F. Fava. New York: Norton, 1955. 446 pp. \$4.00.

Faculty members are urged to consider these books for use as required reading in appropriate courses and to order them for their libraries.

3. Marvin Sussman, with the cooperation of the Committee on Community Research and Development, has been preparing a book of readings, **Community Science and Analysis**, which will be published by Knopf in the near future.



GUIDE FOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS AUTHORS

1. *Subject matter.* The function of **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**, the official journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, is to promote the objectives of the Society. These objectives, as stated in the Constitution, are to "stimulate the application of scientific method and theory to the study of vital social problems, encourage problem-centered social research, and foster cooperative relations among persons and organizations engaged in the application of scientific sociological findings to the formulation of social policies."

In accordance with these objectives, we seek papers falling in the following categories: (1) consideration of particular social problems and of relevant theories and research methods; (2) analysis of organizations, institutions, and movements which deal with social problems; (3) application of social science theory and research to the solution of social problems; and (4) discussion of the field of social pathology, of its relationship to broader disciplines, and of the professional problems of social pathologists and of applied social scientists.

In determining whether or not a submitted paper is "problem-oriented," we

have found it useful to define a social problem as a social condition which (a) involves a conflict of values, persons, groups, or societies, or which (b) deprives persons, groups, or societies of the likelihood of realizing their values. Examples of social problems are ethnic prejudice and discrimination, family disorganization, war and international tensions, curtailment of civil liberties and academic freedom, crime and delinquency, problems incident to the impact of mass communication on society, industrial and class conflict, the role of power elites in democratic societies, poverty, and physical and mental disease. We are interested in the application of social theory and research to the solution of social problems by such disciplines as medical sociology and social psychiatry; housing; penal administration; social work; and industrial sociology.

2. *Approach.* We seek articles which relate data to significant hypotheses having a social problem focus. As a general rule, we reject purely descriptive accounts, papers dealing with general theory or with research methodology unrelated to problem areas, research prospectuses, and manuscripts the major content of which is

devoted to exhortation, praise, or blame.

3. *Style and format.* Manuscripts should be between 3,000 and 8,000 words in length, written in clear and forceful English, with technical terms used only when necessary for precise communication. Whenever possible, titles should be provocative, precise, and short. Research methods should be fully described. If a new instrument of observation (e.g., schedule, questionnaire, scale) is used, a copy should be sent with the manuscript. Footnotes, references, and tables should conform to the rules given below. The typescript copy should be in final form rather than a rough draft or a copy prepared for oral delivery. This provision should make it unnecessary for the author to make changes in galley proofs other than correction of typographical errors. We reserve the right to charge the author for non-typographical changes in galley proofs.

4. *Miscellaneous specifications.* The author should submit three legible double-spaced typed (an original and two carbons), dittoed, or mimeographed copies, with ample margins on both sides of the page. For his own protection, he should also retain a copy for himself. This manuscript should include a cover page specifying title, author and occupational affiliation, including both department and university or organization. The author should indicate on the face sheet the number of words in his manuscript. Since the face sheet will be removed before the manuscript is sent to our editorial readers, the title (but no other identifying information) should also appear at the top of the first page of text. The three copies should be mailed to Jerome Himmelhoch, Editor, SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts. Manuscripts will be acknowledged upon receipt and, except in unusual circumstances, the author may expect a decision within a period of six to ten weeks. Rejected manuscripts will be returned.

If the author wishes to enter his paper in the competition for the Helen L. DeRoy Award of \$500, he should so inform the Editor. For details concerning the contest, he should consult the announcement in the most recent issue of SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

In asking to inspect an article, we do not commit ourselves to publish it. It is contrary to the policy of SOCIAL PROBLEMS to agree to publish any article until it has been received at our Editorial Office and accepted for publication by our Editorial Staff.

5. *Duplication of material published elsewhere.* A manuscript will not be published if any portion of its content has already been published in a book or journal. When an author has published other papers based upon the same study, he is obligated to so inform the editor and, whenever possible, to send reprints of other such articles with his manuscript. Papers published in SOCIAL PROBLEMS may not be reprinted without the permission of the Editor.

6. *Footnotes and references.* Comments, qualifications, etc., other than references to published sources, should ordinarily be worked into the text rather than added as footnotes. When such footnotes are necessary, they should be indicated in the text by one asterisk for the first footnote on a page, two for the second, etc., and the corresponding footnotes should appear at the bottom of the page.

All references to published sources should be listed in alphabetical order by author at the end of the article and numbered consecutively there. Following the material for which a source is cited, the appropriate number (based on the terminal list of references) should be placed in parentheses. These citations should come after the period at the end of a sentence, but before all other punctuation.

If there are several citations to the same work but to different pages in it, the page numbers should be given in the parentheses immediately following the number of the reference in the text; in such cases, page numbers should be omitted from the citation in the list of references (except for journal articles, which should always have page numbers listed). If there is only one citation of a given source in the article, or several citations all to the same page or pages, the page number or numbers should be given in the list of references. Citations of published works in a footnote should follow the same rules as citations in the text.

Seriation should be done with (a) small letters in parentheses or (b) large Roman numbers followed by periods. Do not use Arabic numbers in parentheses, except for bibliographic references.

The author should cite references only to support his argument; he should not employ them to dazzle the reader with the magnitude of his erudition.

Following is a sample excerpt of text and a sample listing of references:

... Previous studies of crime (2, 4) have demonstrated the importance of childhood health, although later work (1; 3,

pp. 191-193) has qualified these earlier conclusions. As Jeremiah has pointed out, however, "Not all healthy children escape adult criminal careers." (2, p. 303)

* * *

1. Articulate, John J., "Tuberculosis in the Childhood of Recidivists," *American Journal of Meta-Sociology*, 59 (February, 1984), 16-25.

2. Beowulf, Elvis, *The Medical Histories of 100 Criminals* (New York: Brooks, 1753).

3. Charisma, Dennis, and Peter J. Dysfunction, "Illness and Migration as Factors in the Criminal Career," *Social Problems*, 24 (July, 1976), 188-199.

4. Dement, Joan, and Robert P. Satyr, *Studies in the Etiology of Sexual Deviance* (Menosha, Wis.: Liberty Press, 1803), pp. 160-182.

7. **Tables.** The number of tables should be held to a minimum; they should be used only to give results not easily summarized in the text. We reserve the right to charge authors for more than four tables per manuscript. Tables should be numbered successively with arabic numerals. Titles should be short and substantive; categories and methodology should be clear from the row and column headings and from the text, rather than being spelled out in detail in the titles. Units of measurement and the number(s) of cases should always be shown. Irrelevant information, and information easily deduced by the reader, should be eliminated. The following is a sample table:

TABLE 1.

SOCIAL SETTING ON ADMISSION
AND RELEASE*

Admission	Release		N
	With Kin	Not with Kin or with Different Kin	
Living with kin	53	11	64
Not Living with Kin	2	12	14
	55	23	78

*For 7 cases there was insufficient information. For the statistical test for significant shift in the marginals, $.02 > p > .01$.

Each table should be typed on a separate sheet of paper. The author should indicate where each table should appear in the text.

8. **Numbers.** Spell out numbers from zero to nine in ordinary text, all numbers which begin a sentence, and round numbers

indicating approximations (e.g., "in a population of 165 million." "Some five thousand replies were received . . ."). Do not spell out numbers 10 and over in ordinary text, numbers used with terms of measurement, page numbers, and numbers in a series where the largest number would not be spelled out ("Among the respondents were 6 Jews, 9 Catholics, and 53 Protestants."). Numbers used with terms of measurement should appear as numbers; the terms themselves, however, should be spelled out: "5 per cent," "critical ratio of 3.6," "significant at the 1 per cent level."

9. **Headings.** Primary headings are usually sufficient to indicate divisions of an article. They should be centered, with all letters capitalized. Secondary headings should be side headings (such as those used in this memorandum) with only the first word capitalized, starting with the usual paragraph indentation, and followed on the same line with the beginning of a new paragraph. Secondary headings should be underlined for italics.

April 1957

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- Subscription to **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**, the quarterly journal of the Society, and the possibility of participating in the Society's publication program and of contributing to its publications. To date these have included the Journal and three published books of readings: (a) *Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach*, (b) *Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports*, and (c) a book of readings on community organization.

- Interdisciplinary collaboration with the representatives of a variety of social science fields. In addition to its own meetings and its annual joint meeting with the American Sociological Society, SSSP meets every year with the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues and may in the future meet with other societies as well. Moreover, SSSP members include not only sociologists, but also psychologists, anthropologists, social workers, and practitioners in many professional fields.

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For further information concerning SSSP, consult the introductory pages and *Official Reports* in **SOCIAL PROBLEMS**.

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HARRY W. ROBERTS, *Secretary*,
SSSP, Virginia State College,
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The Society for the Study of Social Problems
Announces The Third Annual

Helen L. DeRoy Award of \$500

for research and writing in the field of social problems
(Revised Announcement)

The Society for the Study of Social Problems will present at its seventh annual meeting, August 26-29, 1957, The Helen L. DeRoy Award of five hundred dollars to the author or co-authors of the best paper reporting on research concerning a vital social problem, such as ethnic prejudice and discrimination, family disorganization, war and international tensions, curtailment of civil liberties, crime and delinquency, problems incident to the impact of mass communications on society, industrial conflict, poverty, and physical and mental disease. The research may either analyze new data or evaluate previous studies. Its purpose should be to test significant hypotheses or to show the relevance of such hypotheses to the solution of social problems in some field of applied social science, such as medical sociology, social psychiatry, housing, penal administration, social work, and industrial sociology. The members of the Helen L. DeRoy Award Committee are W. F. Cottrell, *Chairman*; Edwin M. Lemert; William M. McCord; James B. McKee; Erwin O. Smigel; and Jerome Himelhoch, *Secretary*. The closing date for the receipt of manuscripts has been postponed to July 10, 1957. It will not be postponed again.

1. Candidates should submit an original double-spaced typed copy and two carbon copies of their manuscripts, which should be between 3,000 and 8,000 words in length, to Jerome Himelhoch, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.
2. Each manuscript will be simultaneously considered for the competition and for publication in *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*, the official journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, unless the author specifies that he does not wish his paper to be considered for such publication. Papers which satisfy the standards of the Editorial Staff of *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* will be published in the first issue in which there is available space. Submission of the manuscript for consideration by *SOCIAL PROBLEMS* is not a requirement of the competition. It is understood, however, that the winning paper will be published in *SOCIAL PROBLEMS*. Therefore, it is understood that no author will submit his manuscript to another journal until it has been eliminated from the contest and returned to him.
3. Each manuscript will be subjected to a preliminary screening by the Committee to determine whether it meets eligibility requirements in regard to subject matter, organization, style, methodology, etc. A manuscript which does not meet these requirements will be returned to the author within ten weeks after its receipt by the Committee.
4. A manuscript will not be considered if any portion of its content has already been published in a book or journal. A manuscript which represents part of a book in preparation will be eligible providing that the publication date is later than November 15, 1957.
5. Authors should write in simple, forceful English, using technical terms only when necessary for precise communication. Footnotes, tables, etc. must conform to the specifications given in the *Guide for SOCIAL PROBLEMS Authors* on page 367 of this issue. References must be arranged in alphabetical order at the end of the paper and must not be placed at the bottom of the page.
6. In the event of a tie for first place, the judges may at their discretion split the Award into two prizes of \$250 each. The judges also reserve the right to defer the Award if no suitable manuscript is submitted. Manuscripts which have survived the preliminary screening will be returned after the announcement of the Award in August, 1957.

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